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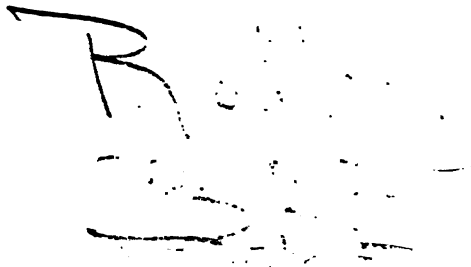

Miss Sarah
Bell

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BAE

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF

THE EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, GRECIANS AND MACEDONIANS

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY THE REV. R. LANGHAM, A. M.

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BOOK XVII.

THE

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ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

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AFTER the battle of Ipsus,* the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those which they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœle-syria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia and Greece: Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ, followed his example. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twenty years, during which he had already exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

These four kings are the four horns of the he-goat in the pro-

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 573.

phecy of Daniel,* which came up in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designated by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which form part of another vision shown to the same prophet.†

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was a partition into kingdoms. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, as four kings *four stood up for it.* But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before this last division of the empire. And even then this dignity was precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions, under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be pointed out, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretells. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and this chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation, which was to be the Grecian; described the

* And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and from it came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven. *Dan.* viii. 5—8. *God afterward explains to his prophet what he had seen:* The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. *Ibid.* v. 20—22.

† After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. *Dan* vii 6.

countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability; and not evidently discover in them the character, and as it were the seal, of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time to resume the thread of our history.

Onias,* the first of that name, and high-priest of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of his actions, was surnamed *the Just*. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. † Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was, for a long time, the capital of the East, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus caused it to be entirely demolished, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country,‡ there were three more remarkable than the rest: the first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from the name of his consort, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was on the same side towards the south. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities, in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and from thence embarked for Greece, his only resource being the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely surprised and offended, when he was met on his way by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited

* Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. † Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124, Justin. l. xv. c. 4. ‡ Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

the reception of any of the kings; they also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her rank. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homage extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the heart. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to punish the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them, he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lysimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and rendered themselves formidable anew.

Lysimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters, named Arsinoe; he had before this procured another, named Lysandra, to be married to his son Agathocles.

A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. This alliance between Lysimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of Stratonice had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Quinda, where the treasures of the province, amounting to 1200 talents,* were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and in entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

* Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

During these transactions, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended her days. Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptole-
A. M. 3706. my, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptole-
Ant. J. C. 298. mais, the daughter of Ptolemy, by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia, besides his new conquests in Cilicia, and some other cities in Asia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shows that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to sincerity, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed.*

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his returning him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, that were dependencies on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he could never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he sailed to those two cities, reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus, though sufficiently conformable to the rules of political interest, had such an odious aspect, with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned: for, as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

A. M. 3707. Cassander died about this time, of a dropsy, af-
Ant. J. C. 297. ter having governed Macedonia for the space of nineteen years, from the death of his father Antipater, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded

* Chap. i. ver. 9.

him, dying soon after, left his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

Pyrrhus,* the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a rebellion, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the rebels, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him 200 talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal; and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus, his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as a hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting, martial exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in wit and prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and of

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383—385.

ingratiating himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite consort, in preference to several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian nobleman, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age: and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Athens,* as we have already observed, had revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party; and he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. A fleet of 150 sail, sent by king Ptolemy to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, besides a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to 300, they weighed anchor, and fled.

A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced by want of provisions, obliged them to open their gates to him.—When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than alive, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction. But he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language; but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them, at the same time, with 100,000 measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so brilliant, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinea to meet him: but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight; after which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; 500 of his enemies were made prisoners, and 200 killed upon the spot; so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

But at this important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which compelled him to direct his attention to a quite different quarter. The first was, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamis, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife, and children, of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom; and to dismiss them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resource or hopes for the future.

SECT. II.

Dispute between the two sons of Cassander for the crown of Macedonia. Demetrius, being invited to the assistance of Alexander, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed king by the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. Pyrrhus is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison.

No prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, nor ever experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately

followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter from whence he had not the least room to expect it.

A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown,* Thessalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius, the former of whom was in Epirus, and the latter in Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius came up at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts; till at last, Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true or fictitious, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first; but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that influenced his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Thessalonica and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had been before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 396. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia,* on the banks of the Tigress, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by 600,000 persons. The dykes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river, which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so incommodious, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who, at a time when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited.† I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292. Simon, surnamed the Just,‡ the high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the functions of it for the space of fifteen years.

A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. I here pass over some events of small importance,§ and proceed to Demetrius, who, believing his power sufficiently established in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above 100,000 men, and fitted out a fleet of 500 sail. So great an armament had never been seen since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created a universal astonishment; for no ships of sixteen, or even fifteen benches of oars, had ever been seen till then; and it was not till many years after this period that Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty benches,‖ but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their size and magnificence.

A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287. Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm, and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged

* Strab. l. xvi. p. 738 & 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26. † Vol. ii. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. § Plut. in Demetr. p. 909, & in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin, l. xvi. c. 2.

‖ This galley was 280 cubits (about 420 feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried 400 sailors, besides 4000 rowers, and near 3000 soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. *Plut. in the life of Demetrius.*

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus did the same on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Berœa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects, of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a tumult in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp and superb magnificence as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously encircled his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes, enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of access. He was either so imperious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech; or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius,* he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to disgust his subjects. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, which has been related among the events of his reign.—That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under pretence that he wanted leisure to hear her. "Be no longer king then," replied she with some emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim

* A river of Upper Macedonia.

with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSABLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.*

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that he was naturally affable, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard. "Yes, my lord," replied one of the company, "and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without farther notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beaten them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander;† but a good matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer, perhaps, not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him the aspect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity, with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him: but with respect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, and knowing how to take advantage of circumstances, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that the Macedonians, who entertained prepossessions so favourable to the one and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius to espouse that of Pyrrhus: and one may see by this instance, and

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τῷ βασιλεῖ προσῆκεν, ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον.

† A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. *Lucian. advers indoct.* p. 552, 553.

a thousand others, of what importance it is for princes to attach their people to their interests by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; by treating them with mildness and affability; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, which constitutes their most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

As Lysimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia,* he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them: but this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it was rather the constant source of animosities and divisions: for, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes: and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains which lay so near and so commodious to them? This was not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable, from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin, to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice.—Still, continues the same author, they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a trace, or a transient suspension of their unjust views.

The whole history of Alexander's successors justified these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise and more impunity. Would to God that those complaints were never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose; and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprises, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's disaffection to Pyrrhus, and inflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully in choosing a stranger for their master, whom interest, and not affection

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398, 390.

had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with the Epirots and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, kings have no reason to blame other persons for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as in acting so they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learned from the whole of their own conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity, and sincerity, in the observance of engagements.

As to Demetrius,* when he found himself deserted by his troops, he had retired to the city of Cassandria,† where his consort Phila resided: this lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to between ten and eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to make a desperate attempt to retrieve his good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemais, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus.—Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

Demetrius,‡ immediately after the celebration of his nuptials entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; and at length made himself master of Sardis; but, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route was to surprise Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to fall back to Tarsus in Cilicia.

* Plut. in Demetr p. 910, 911. † A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in Upper Macedonia. ‡ Plut. in Demetr. p. 912—915.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and entreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and despatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and his intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without exposing himself to danger. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: but if he should not be inclined to grant him that favour, he entreated him to allow him to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that prince not to expose him, by driving him from thence, to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design which Demetrius had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his distrust; and he consented to nothing more than his taking up his quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of the winter; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprise Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design time enough to prevent its effect; and the

A. M. 3718.
Ant. J. C. 286.

desertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the passes so well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Chersonesus of Syria near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniences of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity he was affected with the utmost sorrow; and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as a hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. Seleucus was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal; and in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus, and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the frenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, than that of tormenting themselves, while they render others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? But Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy; and no longer amused himself with his former exercises: he grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly endeavouring by these methods to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn which enclosed his ashes was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatas, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line

from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, who was the last of that family, and was divested of Macedonia by the Romans

SECT. III.

Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. Demetrius Phalereus presides over both. Death of Ptolemy Soter.

A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Ptolemy Soter,* the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the title of king, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus,† one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among them Ptolemy, surnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunder*; who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, had so charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age; he resolved to have him crowned in his own lifetime, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the end of this section.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a generosity entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus,‡ which was also the first year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a large square structure built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost 800 talents, which,

* Justin. l. xvi.

† The word signifies *a lover of his brethren*; but Ptolemy received this surname, agreeably to a figure of speech called *antiphrasis*, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. *Pausan.* l. i. p. 12.

‡ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in φάρος.

estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to 200,000*l.*, but amount to almost double that sum if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before.* Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.

A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. Much about this time the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria.† Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinopé, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine that they consented to resign this god to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis; and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,‡ surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature,§ as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to encourage the cultivation of the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an Academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophic studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. For this purpose, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors.

His son Philadelphus left 100,000 volumes in it at the time of his death,‖ and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of 700,000 volumes.

This library was formed by the following method.¶ All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Euergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripidas, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a man-

* See vol. i. in the History of Egypt. † Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 83 & 84. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protept. p. 31. ‡ Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. § Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095. ‖ Euseb. in Chron. ¶ Galen.

ber as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents (equal to 15,000 crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Museum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain 400,000 volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it 300,000 volumes.

In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria,* a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its 400,000 volumes. Seneca seems to me to be out of humour,† when, speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their judicious attention to the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would have it considered only as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding these magnificent libraries, which became a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those 200,000 volumes from that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Antony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first: and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, displaying its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

John,‡ surnamed the Grammarian, a famous follower of Aristotle,

* Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass l. xlii. p. 202.

† Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiæ regum curæque egregium id opus aît fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: imò, ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant.—Paretur itaque librorum quamtum sit, nihil in apparatum. *Senec. de tranquill. anim.* c. ix

‡ Abul-Pharagius, in hist. Dynast. IX.

happened to be at Alexandria when the city was taken; and as he was much esteemed by Amri Ebnol As, the general of the Saracen troops, he entreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly wrote to Omar, the then Khalif, whose answer was, that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination; and, for that purpose, were distributed among the public baths; where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burnt with the library which was attached to it. Strabo* acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate at the expense of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of men who excelled in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the Church has received some of its most illustrious doctors: as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; it is certain, indeed, that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch† informs us, that it was he who proposed to Ptolemy the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that these would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. In fact, this is almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be

* Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. † Plut. in Apophth. p. 189.

imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince.* He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He consulted him, in preference to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown.

A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create himself a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice, his first wife. But the influence of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which, in a short time, proved fatal to its author.

A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Towards the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness for simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it.—He was accessible to his subjects even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow plate from the rich, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. And when some persons represented to him that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence,† his answer was, "That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not in being rich himself."

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 892, Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal. † Plut. in Apoph.

SECT. IV.

The magnificent solemnity at the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned in ancient history. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes, the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his Antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they are well calculated to give us an idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare beforehand, that the relation will be something tedious.

This pompous solemnity continued a whole day,* and was conducted through the whole extent of the city of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, the decorations of which were descriptive of their history.

Athenæus has related only the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red: their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next to the Sileni came a band of Satyrs, composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases, in which perfumes were burning, nine feet in height, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

A hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple

* Athen. l. v. p. 197– 203.

vests; each of them bearing a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty Satyrs, wearing crowns of gold, which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six feet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopiæ, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very beautiful woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris.*

The next in the procession were the Genii of the four seasons, wearing characteristic ornaments, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of Satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking cups.

Immediately after these came Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

A car of an extraordinary size followed these. It had four wheels,† was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by 180 men. In this car was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Lacedæmonian fashion, and containing fifteen measures, called *metretes*.‡ This was accompanied with a

* This word signifies the space of five years, because, at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

† All the cars of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

‡ This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds most with the Roman amphora, but was somewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated under the shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same car were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vans.*

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns, composed, some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another car, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nysa,† sitting, twelve feet high, and clothed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines, without being touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribands: and it wore a golden crown, on which were represented leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of various gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the car.

After this came another car, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, drawn by 300 men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Six Satyrs trod the grapes, to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole procession.

Another car of the same magnitude was drawn by 600 men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopards' skins sewed together. The vessel contained 3000 measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine during the procession.

This car was followed by 120 crowned Satyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flagons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing 600 *metretes*, placed on a car drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned

* Mystica vannus Iacchi. *Virg.* † She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great vats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty *metretes*, and the least five: there were likewise ten caldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more of six feet; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came eighty Delphic tripods, all of silver, something less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six ewers, sixteen flagons, and 160 other vessels, the largest of which contained six *metretes*, and the smallest two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which, called Laconic, were crowned with vine leaves: there were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight *metretes*: a wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed: two other vases, each of which contained five *metretes*: and two more that held a couple of measures: twenty-two vessels for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty *metretes*, and the least one: four golden tripods of an extraordinary size: a kind of golden basket, intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was fifteen feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height; two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten ewers; an altar four feet and a half high; and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched 1600 youths, habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and 400 of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

After this appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, twenty of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and 300 diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a car thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by 500 men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine leaves; from which several pigeons, ring-doves, and turtles issued out and flew about.

Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains, likewise, one of milk and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another car, where the god was represented by a statue, eighteen feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a Satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with the crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This car was followed by 500 young virgins, adorned with purple vests and golden zones. A hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came 120 Satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper, arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and Satyrs with crowns on their heads, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by *oryges*, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, armed with little bucklers, and long thyrsi, and clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys, who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine, and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three cars drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these cars were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried 300 pounds weight of incense; others 200 of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Æthiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried 600 elephants' teeth; another, 2000 branches of ebony; a third, sixty cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of 2,400 dogs of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, besides a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by 150 men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey-hens, pheasants, and a great number of Æthiopian birds. After these appeared 130 sheep of that country; 300 of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Eubœa; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Æthiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a cameleopard,* and an Æthiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a car, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with the crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy, with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these was a great vase filled with golden cups, with a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five *métrétes*.

This car was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another car was a golden thyrsus, 135 feet in length, and a silver lance ninety feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of cars, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these came a chorus of 600 men, among whom were 300 who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band marched 2000 bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an ægis† hung on the breast of each. All these trappings were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a car drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory,

* This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace: *Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo.*

† A kind of buckler which covered the breast, on the middle of which was embossed the Gorgon's head.

on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed 10,000 pieces of gold.*

In this procession were likewise 300 golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearts, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twenty-two feet and a half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, six feet in height; and there were six others, nine feet high. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; on which were placed several animals in gold, seven feet and a half high, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long; a gilded thunderbolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference; a double horn twelve feet long; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a consecrated crown, of 120 feet, most probably, in circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. There was also another golden ægis. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, and twenty-four in circumference.

In this procession were also carried a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high, on which latter was the representation of two thunderbolts of gold, eighteen feet in length: an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; sixty-four complete suits of golden armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve golden basins; a great number of flagons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve ewers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables; all these were of gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets; and a horn of solid gold, forty-five feet in length. All those golden vessels and other ornaments were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise 400 chariots laden with vessels, and other

* The Attic *Stater* usually called χρυσοῦς, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this single crown amounted to 100,000 French livres, which are about 5000*l.* sterling.

works of silver; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and 800 more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of 57,600 foot, and 23,200 horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued for some days after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at 2230 talents, and fifty minæ, about 334,400*l.* sterling: from whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the pageant (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and comic?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I have formerly mentioned, so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of it, I am persuaded that he would not have been able to endure the sight of the procession till it closed, and have no doubt that he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the capture of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared that he was justly punished, by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age.*

In this festival given by Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it seems to have been conducted with any elegance, or to have had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing profusion of gold and silver was lavished, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Catiline wishes to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out (says he) and torment their gold and silver by all imaginable methods" (I must entreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation,) "and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches,"—*Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant,*† *tamen*

* Adeò nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompæ, non reticuerit meritò se plecti, qui triumphum—tam ineptè senex concupisset. *Sueton. in Vespas.* c. xii.

† These metaphorical terms, *trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt*, may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches as engaged, all the profusion of the former is incapable of exhausting and overcoming her wealth.

summâ lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. In such profuseness as this did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

In fact, what is there truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and this waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so much fatigue and labour, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to public view only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion, converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, calculated only to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by presenting to their view all the instruments of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under the pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would suffer, and even exact, so scandalous a pomp in their worship.

SECT. V.

The first transactions of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The death of Demetrius Phalereus. Seleucus resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoe are murdered by their uncle Ceraunus, who also banishes that princess. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphi. Antigonus establishes himself in Macedonia.

A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Ptolemy Philadelphus,* after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to say, Phœnicia, Cœle-syria, Arabia, Libya, Æthiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he had given his father, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But as soon as he saw himself sole master, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. The bite of an aspic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.†

The testimonies in his favour, which are adduced by Cicero,

* Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. † Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government; we therefore shall consider only what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characteristics of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places,* were sweetness, elegance, beauty, grace, and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that enlivened the subject of his discourse, though otherwise not enriched in any great degree with noble sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and the sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something soft and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire that force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that which we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merits, when confined within just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve this due moderation, and to suppress the sallies of a fertile and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgment; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and to become, even from its very beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time,† had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose characteristic was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that impaired this manly and solid eloquence, for which he substituted a soft and languishing species, if I may use the expression, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.

After the death of Ptolemy, two of Alexander's captains still survived, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been

* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest: disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. *Offic.* l. i. n. 3. Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quàm palæstrâ. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quàm inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut è militari tabernaculo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis—Suavis videri maluit, quàm gravis; sed suavitate eâ, quâ perfunderet animos, non quâ perfringeret: et tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. *De clar. Orat.* n. 37 & 38.

† Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit in quâ naturalis inesset, non fucatus. altor—Ille (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit. *De clar. Orat.* n. 36—38.

united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: as they were now advancing to the period of their days (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age,) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them: instead of which, they thought only of making war against, and destroying, each other. Their quarrel arose on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues,* to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the disputes of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at his court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of Lysimachus's principal officers, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed by views of interest.

A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 282. Before he engaged in this enterprise,† he resigned his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate, and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories than the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to

* Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 13. † Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

conceive the grief and anxiety of a father who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age; whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and most skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from love; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It was, however, more difficult to discover the object of this passion, which was the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with the king her consort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion: such, for instance, as a suppression of voice; burning blushes; dimness of sight; cold sweat; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his inquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it; he added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture; particularly the respect due from him to a father and sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shame of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a desire he ought never to be desirous of gratifying, but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to pine to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king? When next Seleucus inquired after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not

disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another." "And will you not part with her then," replied the king, "to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me?" "Let me entreat you, my lord," said Erasistratus, "to imagine yourself for one moment in my place; would you resign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should do it?" "Would to God," exclaimed Seleucus, "that the cure of my son depended only on my acquiescence, I would resign both Stratonice and my empire to him with all my soul." "Your majesty, then," replied the physician, "has the remedy in your own hands; for it is Stratonice whom he loves." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort: and his son and that princess were crowned king and queen of Upper Asia. Julian the apostate relates,* in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus would not espouse Stratonice till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shows us the misfortune of suffering an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity, of life, to gain the least entrance into the heart.

Seleucus being now eased of his inquietude,† thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He therefore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia Minor. All the country submitted to him as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysimachus.

A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281. The latter having passed the Hellespont in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia,‡ but was defeated and slain; in consequence of which Seleucus made himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure on this occasion resulted from his being the only surviver of all the captains of Alexander,§ and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. The last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror,

* In Misopog.

† Justin. l. xvii. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 128. Memnonis Excerpta apud Phot. c. lx. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 323. Polyæan. 4—9.

‡ Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls Κυρεστίκη, instead of Κυρεστίου, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

§ Lætus eâ victoriâ Seleucus, et quod majus eâ victoriâ putabat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum munus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorsus, non multò pòst fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. *Justin.* l. c. xvii. 2.

which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes of the name of Seleucus who reigned after him in Syria.

A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280. His triumph on this occasion was of no long continuance; for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations; for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in this expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the same forces for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But this wretch, insensible of all the favours he had received, had the villany to conspire against his benefactor, and assassinate him.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of king was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the era of the Seleucidæ commences.

A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years,* by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government; but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards reunited them, even in the lifetime of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, which has been my usual guide, and which assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence and clemency that endeared him to the people, and a peculiar regard to religion. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library which Xerxes had carried away, and which he found in Persia. He accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king; but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace,† while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lysi-

* Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academie des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres. † Justin. l. xxv. c. 3—4.

machus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious but little remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and demanded her hand in marriage; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowed in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed and concealed her repugnance under plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion: and in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her confidential friends, whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arsinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She, therefore, consented at last; and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples on that occasion, with all the public squares and private houses, were magnificently adorned; and nothing was to be seen but altars and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty and majestic mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering the last offices to her children, she was first drag-

ged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Providence would not suffer such crimes to go long unpunished,* but called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after proceeding along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they despatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceedingly happy in purchasing a peace with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus,† king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was undismayed at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of 20,000 men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East by itself alone, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added, with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who, under the ensigns of Alexander, had subdued the universe.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it; but, conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises.

* Justin. l. xxiv. et xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. hymn. in Delum, et schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Λαγίδαι.

† Solus rex Macedonia Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis et incompositis, quasi bella non difficilius quàm scelera patrarentur, parricidarum furiis agitatus, occurrit. *Justin.*

This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls; and we may from hence observe the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes: he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated and cut to pieces: Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls; who, after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and showed it to the enemy in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, collected some few troops, and taking advantage of the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop; but this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon the intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. When he received the news of that general's defeat, it only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to revenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop; but in all probability he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. However that may be, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of 20,000 men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, whom they chose for their commanders, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already led into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 278. This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to 152,000 foot, and 61,200 horse. The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all

the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls next advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops who had been posted there, to defend that important pass: till at last they discovered the circuitous path which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphi, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; saying, at the same time, with an air of raillery, "that the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner." Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing and marvellous events:* for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphi, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended by an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down vast fragments of the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic the ensuing night,† as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in consequence of which they destroyed one another in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished by that means.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Though Brennus had received many wounds in several parts of his body, yet none of them were mortal: but when he saw that all was lost, and that the grand design he had formed ended only in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. After this he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his bosom, and expired upon the spot.

* Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652—654.

† The ancients thought these kinds of terrors were infused into the mind by the god Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

Aciehorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of the army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were reduced to the necessity of almost always lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season; in a word, as they were constantly harassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose when the Gauls approached Delphi, and the immense masses of rock miraculously detached from the mountains to crush the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interests it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent as a prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition; and which the credulity of the people, who are always fond of the marvellous, would readily have credited, without a scrupulous examination into the truth of the account.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing which history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety, and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable (for he did not think better on that subject than the Greeks themselves,) but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have, through all ages and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed from time to time against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, to whom was reserved the instruction of mankind in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his

peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other heinous offences in a singular manner, even among the Pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital article, the first tie which connects man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the profligacy of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

Leonor and Lutarius,* who had formed a separate body, and had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, they met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia. This prince, after he had reduced his brother Zypetes by their assistance, and regained the possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people; and St. Jerome, above 600 years after the time of which we are now speaking, declared, that they continued to speak in the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia, or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, which had threatened Macedonia and all Greece with entire destruction.

A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. After the death of Sosthenes,† who had defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne; but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus on this occasion,

* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 16. † Memnon. apud Phot. c. 19

Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, in consequence of which Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained in peaceable possession of it, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppression. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.

SECT. VI.

Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the books of the Holy Scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Version of the Septuagint.

A M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277. The tumult of the wars, which a diversity of interests had kindled among the successors of Alexander throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library which he had founded in Alexandria, wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews possessed a work which contained the laws of Moses and the history of that people, formed the design of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation: but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. There was at that time a very considerable number of Jews in Egypt, who had been reduced to a state of slavery by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judæa in his time; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptole-

my, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas* a head to their masters for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to 400 talents;† whence it appears, that 120,000 Jews recovered their freedom. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers; and the sum employed for that purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version.‡ The whole was afterwards read and approved in the presence of the king, who particularly admired the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves, others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expenses of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have

* About 10*s*. † About 60,000*l*.

‡ It is called the Septuagint for the sake of the round number 70, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæas, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. Philo declares,* that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet not the least difference either in the sense, or in the mode of expression which they used, was to be found, but that, on the contrary, they every where coincided even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the Spirit of God, who guided them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would, therefore, call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek was made in Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same that was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages in the original Greek, cited by the sacred writers in the New Testament from the Old, are to be found, word for word, in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it also was by those of the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which rendered the Scriptures of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design which God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the Gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations of different languages and manners into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of one language, the finest, most copious, and most correct that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

* Philo de vitâ Mosis. l. ii. p. 658.

SECT. VII.

The various expeditions of Pyrrhus: First, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas. Secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans, wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia, of which he makes himself master for some time, after having overthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus.

Pyrrhus,* when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a real disease, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying from himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new engagements.

A. M. 3734. Ant. J. C. 270. The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes towards Epirus, and despatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they only wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of 20,000 horse and 350,000 foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great judgment, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving, from so excellent a school, the solid principles and truest maxims of sound policy. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

of Euripides, "that the eloquence of an enemy is no less powerful than his sword;" and Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he himself had conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for him, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels attended to.

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from business, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. "Your majesty intends," said he, "to march against the Romans; should the gods vouchsafe to render you victorious, what advantage shall you derive from your conquest?" "Were the Romans once subdued," replied Pyrrhus, "all Italy would then be ours." "Supposing ourselves masters of that country," continued Cineas, "how should we proceed next?" Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, "Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island." "But will our expeditions," added Cineas, "end with the conquest of Sicily?" "No, certainly," replied Pyrrhus with emotion; "should we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprises? Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, shall be part of our future conquests." "And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves?" "Dispose of ourselves! We will live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves." "Ah! my lord," interrupted Cineas; "and what prevents us now from living at our ease, making entertainments, celebrating festivals, and enjoying ourselves to the utmost? Why should we go so far in search of a happiness already in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble?"

This discourse of Cineas affected Pyrrhus, but did not reform him. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard: but his natural ardour, more predominant, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and glittering outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or by day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered the reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of his Thoughts; wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of all the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all which the world calls diversion or pastime. "The soul," says that great man, "discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there afflicts her when she considers it sedately. This obliges her to have recourse to external employments, that she may lose in them the

remembrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her joy; and, to render her miserable, no more is wanting than to oblige her to enter into, and converse with herself."

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection by a variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks: "When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying that repose which was then in his power, without going in quest of it through such a number of fatigues; he gave him advice that was attended with many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of being satisfied with himself and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void in his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before or after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his minister would have proved less satisfactory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions which he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher nor the conqueror were capable of knowing thus thoroughly the heart of man. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately despatched Cineas to the Tarentines with a detachment of 3000 foot; soon after which a large number of flat-bottomed vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transport-ships, arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board them twenty elephants, 3000 horse, 20,000 heavy-armed foot, 2000 archers, and 500 slingers.

All being ready, he set sail; but as soon as he had advanced into the open sea, a violent tempest arose from the north, and drove him out of his course.—The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm: but the exertions of the pilot and mariners were employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who vied with each other to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him, till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast the next morning on the shore the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained, weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that had escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number, and the infantry amounted to no more than 2000 men, with two elephants. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely engaged in pleasures, in which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least moderation or intermission. And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting, and recreations. Pyrrhus was unwilling to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated all the management of the war as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shows, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of newsmongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which, several who had never been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city: thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not yet sent him any succours, nevertheless as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his sight, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he engaged in any hostilities, he despatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, "That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy."

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and were encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank, to take a view of their situa-

tion. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order which was every where maintained, and the judicious disposition of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him—"Megacles," said he, "the array of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether other circumstances will correspond with this appearance."* And already under apprehension for the success of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of the allies; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who had arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing towards him in fine order, he closed his ranks, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he did not lose sight of the duties of a general; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, despatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace, and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of his troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus to use more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up.

* The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say, that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by a horseman, who hurled him to the ground, after he had torn off his helmet and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he showed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bareheaded through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broken by those animals, and that the horses, instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes, that near 15,000 Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost 13,000 of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies' camp, which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained; and instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This greatness of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprised and even terrified Pyrrhus. He, therefore, thought it prudent to despatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommo-

dation; and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents in the name of the king to them and their wives: but not one would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, that when Rome should have made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace: and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise every thing to dread; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of the states of Italy his allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to stand in need of the animated spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and loss of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from public affairs. When he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had hitherto acquired. "Where," said he, with the warmth of a noble indignation, "where is the spirit that suggested the bold language you once uttered, and whose accents rung through all the world; when you declared, that if the great Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he never would have gained the reputation of being invincible, but would have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight or death! Is it possible, then, that you now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that very Alexander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to country, to avoid the enemies he has at home; and who has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to secure to him a small tract of Macedonia!" He added many other things of the same nature, which rekindled the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas: "That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy: after which,

if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it: but that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Levinus."

It is said, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome in order to negotiate a peace, took every method, as might be expected from a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans; to scrutinize their public as well as private conduct; to study the form and constitution of their government; and to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, "That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings." A just and noble idea of that august body! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets, and all parts of the country, he added, "I greatly fear we are fighting with a hydra." Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field twice as numerous as the first, and there were left in Rome an infinite number of men, capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors sent to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and one well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all possible honours. The ambassadors, at their audience, said every thing suitable to the present conjuncture; and as they imagined he might be elated by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of depressing the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at all events, enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

Pyrrhus,* after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect: "Romans, it is with an ill grace you

* Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744—748.

demand the prisoners I have taken from you, to employ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I proposed. If you have only in view your own real interest and mine, it is not necessary to have recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my allies, and I promise to restore you all my prisoners, as well your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great a number of soldiers."

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner: "As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit: I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character, and that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am likewise acquainted with your poverty; and must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, 'that no expense can be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures.' At the same time, I must desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust or dishonourable service from you as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is perfectly consistent with your honour, and what will add to your authority and importance in your own country. Let me, therefore, conjure you to assist me with your influence in the Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much inflexibility with relation to the treaty I proposed, and has never consulted the rules of moderation in any respect. Make them sensible, I entreat you, that I have given my solemn word to assist the Tarentines and other Greeks who are settled in this part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour abandon them, especially as I am now at the head of a powerful army that has already gained me a battle. I must however acquaint you, that I am called, by some pressing affairs, to my own dominions; and this is the circumstance which makes me more earnestly wish for peace. As to any other particulars, if my quality as a king causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a number of other princes have openly violated the faith of treaties and alliances, without the least hesitation; become my surety yourself on this occasion; assist me with your counsels in all my proceedings, and command my armies under me. I want a virtuous man and a faithful friend; and you as much need a prince, whose libe-

ralities may enable you to be more useful, and to do more good to mankind. Let us, therefore, consent to render mutual assistance to each other, in all the future events of our lives."

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments' silence, replied to him in these terms: "It is needless for me to make any mention of the experience I may possibly have in the conduct of public or private affairs, since you have been informed of that from others. With respect also to my poverty, you seem to be so well acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure you I have no money to turn to advantage, nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue: that my whole fortune consists in a house of no considerable appearance; and in a little spot of ground that furnishes me with my support. But if you believe my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of every other Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties of an honest man, I am the less considered, because I happen not to be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive of me, is not just, and that whether any other may have inspired you with that opinion, or whether you only suppose so yourself, you are deceived. Though I do not possess riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a public or private person. Did my necessitous circumstances ever induce my country to exclude me from those glorious employments, that are the noble objects of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies. I assist also at the most august ceremonies, and even the most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to my care. Whenever the most important affairs are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in councils, and offer my opinion with as much freedom as another. I am upon an equal footing with the richest and most powerful persons in the republic; and if any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost me nothing of my own, no more than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She gives all necessary supplies to those whom she employs in public stations, and bestows them with liberality and magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs from many other cities, where the public is extremely poor, and private persons immensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence as long as the republic is so, because we consider her treasures as our own. As the rich and the poor are equally admitted to her employments, according as she judges them worthy of confidence, she places all her citizens upon an equality, and knows no distinction between them but that of merit and virtue. As to my own private affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest of men when I compare myself with the rich, and find a

certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. My little field, poor and unfertile as it is, supplies me with whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I want more? Every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger; I drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all the sweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I content myself with a habit that covers me from the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds of furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest is, in my opinion, the most commodious. I should be unreasonable, and unjust, were I to complain of fortune, whilst she supplies me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished me with any; but then she has not inspired me with the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I then complain? It is true, the want of this abundance renders me incapable of relieving the necessitous, which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for enjoying. But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, some portion of the little I possess and render my fellow-citizens all the services I am capable of performing; in a word, when I discharge all the duties incumbent on me, to the best of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn me? If riches had ever been the least part of my ambition, I have so long been employed in the administration of the republic, that I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and even by irreproachable methods. Could any man desire one more favourable than that which occurred to me a few years ago? The consular dignity was conferred upon me, and I was sent against the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of land, and defeated the enemy in several battles: we took many flourishing and opulent cities by assault; I enriched the whole army with their spoils; I returned every citizen the money which he had contributed to the expense of the war; and after I had received the honours of a triumph, I still brought 400 talents into the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to myself; after having despised such immense riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and many other great men, whose disinterested generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome to so illustrious a height; would it now become me to accept of the gold and silver you offer me? What idea would the world entertain of me? And what an example should I set to my fellow citizens? How could I bear their reproaches? how even their looks, at my return? Those awful magistrates, our censors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not compel me to be accountable before all the world, for the presents you solicit me to accept? You shall keep then, if you please, your riches to yourself, and I my poverty and my reputation."

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches, but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really persuaded, that there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire.*

Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprise the Roman ambassador,† who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he would be in conversation with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprise or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, can move me."

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the doctrines of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world; declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the Divinity either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind; and that they consigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, "Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans."

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of erudition; for at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regias opes posse contemnere. *Senec. Epist.* 129.
† Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

conversations, which frequently continue from the beginning to the end of the entertainment, and are passed without much expense of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus, struck with admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassador, and charmed with his manners and his wisdom, became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. "I would not advise you to persist in that request," replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear, and smiling; "and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself."

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it; and would intrust the prisoners to none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompense proportionable to the great service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice,* even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them; and who knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: and as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference therefore with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms;

* Ejusdem animi fuit, auro non vinci, veneno non vincere. Admirati sumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; boni exempli tenacem; quod difficillimum est, in bello innocentem; qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas; qui in summâ paupertate quam sibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitias quàm venenum. *Senec. Epist.* 120.

CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS EMILIUS, CONSULS; TO KING PYRRHUS, HEALTH.

"You seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose confidence in traitors and the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us; and to imagine that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour."

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and ascertained the truth of the information it contained, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise again deputed Cineas to attempt to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would not accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompense for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, though they did not refuse to accept the prisoners, yet returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places where cavalry could not act, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks as to the marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, brought forward his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to 15,000 men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage therefore seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when

one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, "if we gain such another," replied he, "we are inevitably ruined." And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war.*

Whilst he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind,† and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient to disengage himself from an enterprise which he had too inconsiderately undertaken, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend the throne.

A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open for him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately despatched Cineas, to treat with the cities, and to give them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to see themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus,‡ who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received from them money out of the public treasury, and about 200 ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of 30,000 foot and 2,500 horse, with a fleet of 200 sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence: he also defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Messina, who

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. *Horat.*

† Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. and l. xxiii. c. 3.

‡ He is called Sostratus, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

were called *Mamertines*,* whose frequent eruptions infested all Sicily, and he entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He now thought of nothing but great projects for himself and his family. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain them, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severely punished those who neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the wealth they had received from that prince, and bestowed it upon his own creatures. In the contempt of the customs of that country,† he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affections of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him.

* The word signifies *martial*, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

† Dionys. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 541.

He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies against him. Of this number was Thepon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also intended to have Sostratus seized, but as he had some suspicion of what was designed against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. This barbarous and unjust treatment of the two principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conduced most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: the vigour and impetuosity of his conduct in the enterprises he undertook,* facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted the art of preserving them. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse,† the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those Barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed over thither before him, to the number of near 10,000 men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harassing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

Livy‡ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers, and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though

* Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquisitisque celeriter carebat: tantò meliùs studebat acquirere imperia quàm retinere. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.
† Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 28. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. ‡ Liv. l. xxix. p. 18. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerpt. p. 542.

it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ships. The next day, if the story may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were laden with these rich and sacred spoils, were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced, by this cruel disaster, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents this impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.

A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse; and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

These people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies: one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague; the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of the elephants as were strongest, and of the most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning as he was descending the mountains, and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread a universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed the enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and

darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions; which created such confusion and disorder, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than the conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power capable of opposing them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes: for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving and securing what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who had lucky throws on the dice, but played his men very ill.

He at length returned to Epirus,* with 8000 foot and 500 horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities without any difficulty, and had also seduced 2000 of Antigonus's soldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes; marched against Antigonus himself; attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter became very warm, but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 13. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

his hand to the commanders and other officers, calling them each by their name, and by this expedient drew over to himself all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian Minerva.* "Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. The descendants of Æacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and having taken possession of Ægæ,† he treated the inhabitants with great severity, and garrisoned the city with part of his Gauls, a people the most insatiable and rapacious after money of any. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there, carried off all their riches enclosed in those monuments, and with sacrilegious insolence scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention; or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an inquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents; and so criminal a connivance lowered him very much in the esteem of the Macedonians.‡

A. M. 3732. Ant. J. C. 272. Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprises. Cleonymus the Spartan came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons; Acrotatus and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of Cleomenes, a dispute, with relation to the sovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was far advanced in years, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonis, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotatus, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of

* Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her under this name; one in Thessaly, near Larissa, which was the same with that in the passage before us: the other was in Bœotia, near Coronæa.

† A city of Macedonia, on the river Haliacmon.

‡ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—402. Pausan. l. i. p. 23, 24, & l. iii. p. 168. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan was acquainted with the contempt which his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with burning impatience to avenge himself at once on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed on Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and sincerity for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon; Cleonymus desired him to attack the city without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots and friends of Cleonymus were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point: one among them in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, "What could be their

inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they could consent to live after the destruction of Sparta."

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work; but as the absence of their king, and the surprise with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch another kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages sunk in the earth up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by being thus firmly fixed they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose, while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and 900 in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; entreating them, at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, or to breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. As for Chelidonis, she withdrew to her chamber, and prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry to attack the Spartans in front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed, but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out 2000 Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage; but these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. The Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotatus was the first who saw the danger, and immediately hurried through the city with 300 soldiers. Having taken

a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotatus. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting in his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonis: an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate on the subject of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much: particularly Phyllius, who after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed, with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, called to one of the officers who commanded at the post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their efforts to prevent their effecting that design.

But all on a sudden, Pyrrhus, who had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, was seen pushing forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post uttered loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of the city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow piereed his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in

great numbers, and with their arrows repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with 2000 foot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus the more, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from his design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Aristeas and Aristippus,* two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristeas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new pursuits, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristeas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the keenest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in

* Plut. in Pyrr. p. 403—406. Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those who, after they had gained a complete victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated as it were the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, "That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it."

The inhabitants of Argos despatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to entreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as a hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared he advanced to the walls, and having found a gate left open by Aristeas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and to be replaced, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were best calculated for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus to urge him to advance with speed to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops,

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with 1000 Cretans, and as many Spartans as had made most haste. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened to sustain them, but in the tumult and confusion which were occasioned by the darkness of the night, it was impossible for him to make himself either heard or obeyed. When day appeared he was not a little surprised to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehension with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without, with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in the narrow street which led to the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased by the arrival of the troops whom his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance. And to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down across the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that they could neither advance nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward, and were driven back like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness of his horse, he sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound however was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, as did also the rest of the women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up with both hands a large tile, and threw it down upon

Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyoneus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for having acted in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grand-father Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

One cannot refuse the title of a great captain to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Roman ambassadors; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgment on that head. Livy reports,* from an historian whom he cites, without, however, pretending to vouch for its authenticity, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought to be the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself only in the third.

The same general also characterized Pyrrhus, by adding, "That he was the first who taught the art of encamping; that no one was more skilful in choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops; that he had a peculiar art of conciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and this to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for their master, though a stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who for so many years had held the first rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals masters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learned it from him, and Hannibal's evidence must extend no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; he even did not display them on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

lost Sicily, by not conciliating the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a private soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shows strength and intrepidity, than of that wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the safety of all, and who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not also be said, that Pyrrhus was deficient in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through natural constitution, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive my making use of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprises without the least thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slight grounds, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, he was no where so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour, of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in defending them, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in procuring them peace and security.

A. M. 3730, Ant. J. C. 274. The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus;

Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship;* and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year,† in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterestedness which they displayed, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the king's statues erected in the public squares of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all these presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public,‡ to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the credit of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory; and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men who devote themselves in such a manner to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompense merit in this manner? We may observe here, says an historian,§ three fine models set before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECT. VIII.

Athens besieged and taken by Antigonus. The just punishment inflicted on Sotades, a satiric poet. The revolt of Magas from Philadelphus. The death of Philetærus, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Theos. The wise measures taken by Ptolemy, for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magas and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. The revolt of the East against Antiochus. Peace restored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The Grecks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians,

* Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. † Ibid. Ibid. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.
‡ De publico scilicet ministerio nihil cuiquam præter laudem bene administrati officii fortere debere judicabies. *Val. Max.* § Valerius Maximus.

and rendered dependant on their authority, seem, by losing their liberty, to have also lost that courage and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appear entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but all feeble, and without success.

A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Antigonus Gonatas,* king of Macedonia, became very powerful, some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece: the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals: while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army, to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more adviseable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination nor good intelligence between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison in it.

A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Patroclus happened,† in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licentiousness both of his verses and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumnies; and when he

* Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168, et in Attic. p. 1. † Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

was entertained by the latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satire against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoe, his own sister; and he had fled from Alexandria to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner. He accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets who profess satire, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and sense of shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt,* by a prince from whom he never suspected having any thing of that nature to fear. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica, and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused by Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government by long possession, and by his marriage with Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition knows no bounds, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Parætonium, a city of Marmarica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmaridæ in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him likewise to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by 4000 Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who

* Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264. Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of this treaty, anticipated Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who had relied upon a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Philetærus,* who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of fourscore. He was a eunuch, and had been originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was followed by Philetærus. Lysimachus, finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and intrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post for several years; but his attachment to the interests of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Philetærus, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; being favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted her affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the

*Strabo. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. in Att. p. 13 & 18.

space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Nicomedes,* king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus had destroyed, formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is often made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Philetærus to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Antiochus,† returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered‡ one of his sons to be put to death for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, in the manner I have before mentioned.

A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Antiochus the son,§ when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his sister, by the father's side. He afterwards assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Cœle-syria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria in Asia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of *God*. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages.‖ The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

Berosus,¶ the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the

*Pausan. Eliac. l. i. p. 310. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xii. c. 9. Memn. c. xxi. Strab. l. xii. p. 624. †Trog in Prologo, l. xxvi. ‡M. de la Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may consult tom. VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions. §Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1. ‖Athen. l. vi. p. 255. ¶Tatian. in Orat. con. Græc. p. 471. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7.

beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of 480 years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berosus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous as the birth-place of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the futility of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold,* in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercises. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259. Ptolemy being solicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East; which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from thence by land to Rhinocorura, and from this last place by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two seaports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and the second at the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouth of the river of Egypt.

Ptolemy,† in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were landed here. From thence they were conveyed on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterwards exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road; and to communicate with the Nile, that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply all necessary accommodations for them and their beasts of burden.

Useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and the West into his dominions, he thought his plan would

*Plin. l. vii. c. 37. †Strab. xvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23

be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red Sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. This last was extremely fine,* and some of the vessels which composed it much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty seven with seven; five with six, and seventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to 112 vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades

A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258. Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage beween Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt, and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Magas,† however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Towards the close of his days he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apame, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatas, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time; but as soon as Apame beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter to attach himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apame employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apame was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

* Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203. † Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. This princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy,* that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

A. M. 3749. Ant. J. C. 255. Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army,† his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign and the inconveniences of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable, and the event not worthy of much notice.

A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library,‡ notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and his distance at that time rendered him incapable of taking the necessary steps to check it with sufficient expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

The cause of these commotions prceeded from Agathocles,§ governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction but of great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety, with several persons whom they had drawn together for their defence, against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander;

* Hieron. in Daniel. ‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel. ‡ Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. § Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab l. xi. p. 515.

first under Euthenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

Much about the same time,* Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Atilius Regulus,† were consuls at Rome; that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. The troubles and revolts in the East made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy.‡ A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons: Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy had been foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in our history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

"I will now show thee the truth."§ These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of GOD, by the man clothed in linen. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia;" namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. "And the fourth shall be far richer than

* Justin. & Strab. ibid. † In the Fasti he is called C. Atilius. ‡ Hieron. in Dan. xi. Polyæn. strat. l. viii. c. 50, Athen. l. ii. p. 45. § Dan. xi. 2.

they all: And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece." The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

"And a mighty king shall stand up,* that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

"And when he shall stand up,† his kingdom shall be broken (by his death,) and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those:" namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander parcelled out into four great kingdoms;‡ without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

This prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

"The king of the South shall be strong,§ and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times."

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and throughout all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

"The king of the South shall be strong."‖ This "king of the South" was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and the "king of the North" was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judæa, which has Syria to the north, and Egypt to the south.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls "the king of the South," and declares, that "he shall be strong." The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history: for he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palestine, Cœle-syria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; with the island of Cyprus: as also of several isles in the Ægean sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

The prophet,¶ after this, mentions another of the four successors

* Dan. xi. ver. 3. † Ver. 4.

‡ Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus. *Liv.* l. xiv. n. 9.

§ Dan. xi. ver. 5, 6. ‖ Ver. 5. ¶ Ver. 5.

to this empire, whom he calls "Princes" or "Governors." This was Seleucus Nicator, the king of the North; of whom he declares, that he "should be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive:" for this is the import of the prophet's expression, "he shall be strong above him, and have dominion." It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia Minor, between mount Taurus and the Ægean sea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

Daniel then informs us, "of the coming of the daughter of the king of the South, to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings."* This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will show us the fatal events of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but recognise in this place, with admiration, the divine origin of the Scriptures, which relate in so particular and circumstantial a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above 300 years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment; by the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret but certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

A. M. 3756. Ant. J.-C. 248. As Ptolemy was curious,† to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures, of ex-

* Dan. xi. 6. † Liban. Orat. xi.

cellent masters, as well as in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, with which he was highly pleased. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this the statue was sent back, as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in having removed the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This taste for statues, pictures, and other rare curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses, and even the temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such heinous methods, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth, and fortune, "Sell me this picture, or that statue,"* since it is, in effect, declaring, "You are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession, which suits only a person of my rank and taste." I mention nothing of the enormous expenses into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds.†

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too far advanced in years to have any children when he espoused her; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her,‡ at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant,

* Superbum est et non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provinciâ homini honesto, locupleti, splendido; Vende mihi vasa cælata. Hoc est enim dicere. Non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Meæ dignitatis ista sunt. *Cic. Orat. de signis.* n. 45.

† Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini finem. *Id.* n. 14.

‡ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

in order to keep an iron statue of the queen suspended in the air. This design was the invention of Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.

A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 247. Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoe but a short time.* He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the luxurious manner of life he led contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. He left two sons and a daughter,† whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last-mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son, Ptolemy Euergetes, succeeded him on the throne; the second bore the name of Lysimachus, his grandfather by the mother's side, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

SECT. IX.

Character and qualities of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the early part of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to enervate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men

* Athen. l. xii. p. 549 † Canon. Ptolem. Astron.

The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him a very high character in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and that he spared no expense in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, from whence both those princes have derived as much glory as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy natural disposition had been carefully cultivated by able masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner as suited the dignity of a prince; since he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning, and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use that expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to give due honour to the arts, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expenses, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety, convenience, and freedom, in his ports, without fettering trade in any degree, or endeavouring to turn it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded, that commerce was like some springs that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of the first establishment, after a duration of above 2000 years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from

them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the East and West by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects

CHAPTER II.

SECT. I.—Antiochus Theos is poisoned by his queen Laodice, who causes Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. She also destroys Berenice and her son. Ptolemy Euergetes avenges their death, by that of Laodice, and seizes part of Asia. Antiochus Hierax, and Seleucus his brother, unite against Ptolemy. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son Demetrius. The war between the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus. The death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus succeeds him. The establishment of the Parthian empire by Arsaces. Antiochus is slain by robbers. Seleucus is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy. The death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus seizes the throne of that prince. The death of Seleucus.

A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. As soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus,* his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. Laodice, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to return to Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice, therefore, caused Antiochus to be poisoned, and when she saw that he was dead, she placed in his bed a person named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice, to act the part she had occasion for. He acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few visits that were paid him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also: but Berenice being informed of their design, escaped with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator. But being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold with relation to this marriage. "The king's

* Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement:* but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in those times." I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent those prophecies of Daniel as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer if he had even been a spectator of the acts he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? Yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above 300 years before. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and who, till then, had been her strength and support. 'Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed and reverenced.' *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.*

While Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune; in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Euergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy

* Dan. xi. 6.

not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus; and Xanthippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it; Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off 40,000 talents of silver,* with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2,500 statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols that Cambyses, after his conquest of that kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition: for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Euergetes which signifies *a benefactor*, a title infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. † "But out of a branch of her root (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Euergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North (Seleucus Callinicus,) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver, and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom (that is, the kingdom of Seleucus,) and shall return into his own land:" namely, into Egypt.

When Ptolemy Euergetes set out on this expedition,‡ his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should return in safety. This was most probably a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment

* About six millions sterling.
† Dan. xi. 7—9. ‡ Hygini Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in Hist. Synag. Catullus
‖ Beren.

of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrion, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrion Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

Ptolemy,* in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom,† by the apprehension of domestic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprise was, however, ineffectual; for, as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if Heaven itself, says Justin,‡ had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the general wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished; and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

* Joseph. contr. Appion. l. ii. † Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. ‡ Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

A M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He fled to Antioch, with as small a number of men as had been left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea: as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune.*

After this second blow, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection for Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him with all their forces. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they probably had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish that in this respect the same zeal had been testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor that were contiguous to Syria, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age,† yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind

* Quasi ad ludibrium tantùm fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quàm ut amitteret. *Justin.*

† Antiochus, cùm esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quàm offerebatur, arripuit; sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cogno-

that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure to him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of Hierax,* which signifies a bird that pounces on all he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. When Ptolemy received intelligence that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both these princes for his enemies at the same time.

A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, at the age of eighty or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax;† but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife, being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

In fact, Antiochus still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them; but his real intention was to dethrone him‡, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed Mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor,§ as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops to whose valour he was chiefly indebted for it were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, most proba

minarus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur *Justin.*

* A kite. † Polyb. lib. ii. p. 131. Just. l. xxvii. c. 1. ‡ Pro auxilio bellum no fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit. § Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

bly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus, therefore, was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army amongst them.

Eumenes,* prince of Pergamus, being desirous of taking advantage of this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their division. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then exposed, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally: and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all Asia Minor open to him.

A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Eumenes,† after this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin-german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never hitherto ventured to assume the title of sovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arsaces were following their example in the East. The latter hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra,‡ turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had already dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which, in process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against

* Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3. † Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb. ‡ Justin. l. xli. c. 4.

each other, with the most implacable warmth, not considering, that while they contended with each other for the empire which their fathers had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia. Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus, being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He, however, had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned under a strong guard, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtezan; but as he was quitting that kingdom he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, Euergetes,* upon the death of Zenodotus, who had held that office from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes, the Cyrenean, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. He† was a man of universal learning; but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menos or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239.

When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity at home; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the provinces of the East which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with

A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

* Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. † Ibid. in voc. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐρατοσθένης.

success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus, therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of shaking it.

A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Seleucus,* however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit: but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke, if they had continued to submit to it, would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans.† This verifies that passage in Holy Scripture, which declares,‡ "That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Onias,§ the high-priest of the Jews, had neglected to send to Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a depu-

* Justin. l. xli. c. 4 & 5.

† Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis [fuit] quàm Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. *Justin.*

‡ Dan. iv. 17. § Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 & 4.

tation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several of the most considerable persons of Cœle-syria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them, all the information he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity which he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had been highly prepossessed in his favour by Athenion, was extremely delighted to see him, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt, offered no more than 8000 talents for the provinces of Cœle-syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy calmly replied, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The

king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good a humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. King Demetrius died,* about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son, named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who, having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed *Doson*.†

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Five or six years after this period,‡ Seleucus Callinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates, king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and is in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonian. It will, therefore, be necessary for me to represent the present state of those two republics; and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECT. II.

The establishment of the republic of the Achæans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of Ptolemy Euergetes, to check a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Trœzene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not successful with respect to Argos.

The republic of the Achæans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops,§ the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient.—The Crotonians and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for

* Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euseb.

† This name signifies in the Greek language, *One who will give*, that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

‡ Justin. l. xli. c. 3. Athen. p. 153. § Polyb. l. ii. p. 125—130.

the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, as umpires of the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander: but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve cities,* in Peloponnesus, but all together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, amongst all her citizens, she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change which a single man was capable of introducing among them by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after which to Cassander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatas, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280. Towards the beginning of the cxxivth Olympiad, about the time of the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyme laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united as in former times, and constituted no more than one body of a republic: all affairs were decided by a public council: the registers were committed to a common secretary: the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner, by means of Aratus, one of its citizens, whom, in the sequel, we shall see acting a very great part, and becoming very illustrious.

* These twelve cities were Patræ, Dyme, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium Bura, Cerannia, Olenus, and Helice.

Sicyon,* which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, had lately attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a better form, when Abantidas, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands, found means to get rid of Clinias. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus, being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from henceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father's at Argos.

The new tyranny of Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as their chief resource, and a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252. Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies, whom the latter sent to Argos, kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he concealed his design so well, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat through subterranean passages; and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty." Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph

* Plut. in Arato, p. 1027—1031.

consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, who were no fewer than 500.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from the time of its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effect. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded: and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports, nor any other maritime stations of security. But with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achæans (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the ancient power of Greece,) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy, not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity which he discovered in the execution of their orders; for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and to demand respect only from their exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

The conduct and character of Aratus were the constant subject of admiration.* He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs; his expressions were always proper; his thoughts just; and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprises against an enemy; in masking his designs with impenetrable secrecy, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man at the head of an army: nothing could then be discovered in him but dilatoriness, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be benumbed by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity and resolution, entirely abandon them.

A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. I have already observed,* that those citizens who had been banished, gave Aratus great perplexity.—His disquiet was occasioned by their claim to the land and houses which they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more perplexing than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which he was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency, he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1231—1238.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings: Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of these two painters, to whom he gave a talent (equal to 1000 crowns,) not so much to acquire perfection in the art from them, as in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital scholars of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus could not avoid being affected with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he, therefore, thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better the more he knew him; and presented him with 150 talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not anxious to engross the decision of all affairs to himself, and is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels to assist him in the determination of this important affair (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves,)

had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by public inscriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy, and even fear; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him an object of suspicion to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he, therefore, was resolved to employ him in his affairs: he concluded this train of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him in future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them: and he complained to Aratus of this injurious charge: but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of 10,000 men to succour the Bœotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronia,* in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which Plutarch considers as equal to any of the most illustrious enterprises of the Grecian leaders.

The Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus: the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication, by land and sea, from the inner part of the Isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it, with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel "the shackles of Greece," and as such it was an object of desire and jealousy to all the neighbouring states, and especially to kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after having for a long time, and with extreme anxiety, sought an opportunity to render himself master of this place,

* Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

was so fortunate as to carry it by surprise, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this unexpected success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel of Corinth happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that as he often went to visit his brother, Diocles, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed, on the steepest side, a small winding path hewn in the rock, which led to a part of the wall of the citadel which was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a smile, desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be disposed to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprise. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of raising suspicion by that proceeding, and letting his design get wind, he pledged all his gold and silver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was anxious to surpass them, and to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. And indeed there is a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's whole fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the

most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to fight for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action.

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men who had distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments.

This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal benefit to be derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were thwarted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected 400 men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute: they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog arose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they should not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the sentinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with 100 of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and having drawn up his ladders, he descended into the city, and marched at the head of his 100 men, towards the citadel, with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men, with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrouded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters, and blazing with innumerable lights, which were immediately set up in every part of the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with confused and undistinguishable cries.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks; he made way, however, at first, very slowly, and with great labour, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour: the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The 300 soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard below; but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and in his march passed by those 300 men without perceiving them: but when he advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all dispersed themselves in the city.

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops that moment desired him to be their conductor; and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. When they at last had joined their companions, they charged their enemies

with a vigour that soon dispersed them; upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achæans on each side of the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage completely armed, with a countenance completely changed by his want of rest and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then leaning his body and one knee a little against it, he continued for some time in that posture.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league, exhorted them to accede to it, and at the same time delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty; but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno and of the port of Lechæum, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took 500 war horses, and 400 Syrians, whom he afterwards sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of 400 men.

An action so bold and successful as this could not fail to be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Trœzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendence of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event gained him so much credit and reputation among the Achæans, that as the nomination of the same man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was, however, elected every other year, and he, either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without

lity discontinuation: for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, no, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least preference in his mind, to the welfare and aggrandisement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which thrive and exist only by their mutual union, and infallibly perish when once they are separated; as the sustenance by which they subsist is discontinued from that moment. In like manner cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

All the views of Aratus,* and all his enterprises, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprises of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 242. He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius,† who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, which became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. Illyria was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, so called from a city of Illyria, subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who had ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son, named Pinæus. These people, harassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; though their good services were repaid only with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garrison, into their city.

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 130. † Polyb. l. ii. p. 92—101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 709.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta, to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, to revenge so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumius Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyria by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the consul Fulvius the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyria, and conquered great part of the country; and consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225. Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyria, except a few places which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been dependent on Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also despatched to Corinth and Athens; and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into the great mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens; others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example; and he procured several considerable advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent of their conduct.

Aratus,* who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1038—1041.

Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to restore liberty to that city, as a recompense for the education he had received there; and he had also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achæan league, as highly advantageous to the common cause: but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives. But looking upon Aratus as a mortal enemy, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who only waited for an opportunity of executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern; for, when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for the security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety, that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes which surrounded it. He drove away all his domestics the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept, as we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by force of arms, but merely by his virtue and the effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: and whereas among all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as

so many ramparts for their safety, few escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always showed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world.*

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with very little prudence or resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus, and above 1500 of his men, lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, or restore liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus, had thrown themselves with a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had none of the violent and inhuman characteristics of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediatly chose him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprises which seemed unnecessary at that juncture, and among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost influence to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and, without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus; it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the wars sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

* Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, after having already subsisted 350 years after the death of Aratus.

SECT. III.

Agis king of Sparta attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus; in which he partly succeeds; but finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus against the Ætolians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

When the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta,* and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, indolence, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches: and when these had broken down all the strong barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of the Platææ.

I have already related the dispute that arose in Sparta between Cleonymus and Areus,† in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedæmon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotatus, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas, who had resided for several years in the palaces of the satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches,‡ and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those

* Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

† Josephus relates, that Areus king of Lacedæmon sent letters to Onias the high-priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedæmonians. The origin of this affinity is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

‡ Plutarch informs us, that his mother Agesistrata, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the public meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, "That he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta." These noble sentiments were a demonstration that Agis had formed a true notion of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended, in some measure, the ill effects of those other abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony, in his own lifetime, or bequeath them by will to whom he pleased after his death; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the resentment of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority in their several families; since it was not then possessed of any motives that could ensure filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received all alike the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard good order in all families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects were soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws,* on the basis of which a state, or community, has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniences, from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted:

* Adeò nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus, nisi quæ usu evidenter arguit, stari malunt. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. n. 54.

how much prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by this new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs of the estates which belonged to them; in consequence of which, all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; poverty prevailed through the whole city, and sunk the people into a mean and disgraceful indolence of mind; by extinguishing that ardour for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about 700; and not many more than 100 of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a populace overwhelmed by poverty, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248. Such was the state of Sparta when Agis entertained the design of redressing the flagrant abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprise was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with the love of riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expense to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by the large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs. When Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation on the first glance, and employed all the arguments she could invent to

his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then dropped the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power: for as he knew it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligations to him as they were to his colleague, but that when every one should have equally contributed his whole fortune to the common stock, he alone would engross all the honour of that action, who had first set the example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis having replied, that he had always considered him as such; "Where do you find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered, "That he was not surprised that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the family of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city: that, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established: that these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from the mere apprehension, that their method of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and effeminacy, and an immoderate passion for riches."

He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who, although foreigners, had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them: they likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by one voice: upon which Lysander, who still continued in his employment, immediately determined to

protted against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which "each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from espousing any foreign woman; and which made it death for any Spartan to settle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the same time, to assist in the prosecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called *Chalcioos;* upon which the wife of Cleombrotus, quitting her husband, became a supplicant with her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he refused to comply, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lysander quitted his employment about this period, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lysander and Mandroclides finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs, when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings taking advantage of this expedient, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for releasing the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: but not one person was killed on this occasion; and when Agis even knew that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated on his retreat to Tegæa, he ordered him safely to be conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas, if they began with conciliating the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, they would afterwards more quietly and

readily consent to the partition of lands. This specious reasoning misled Agis, and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifices of Agesilaus; in consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the public square, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agesilaus cried with an insulting air, "That he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before."

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption through the territories of the Megareans into Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy at their marching under his command.—The generality of them were young men in very low circumstances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder: and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprised, and made the following reflection: "What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the ancient Leonidas; since they even now display so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp!"

Agis joined Aratus near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviseable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans; whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops, and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy

in conjunction with them for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his disinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his prudent schemes for the public good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion; wherein he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more adviseable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon an action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction,* and in their march seized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He was no longer the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, he advanced with those he then had against the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory: attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, with the loss of 700 men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches which had been uttered against him, and which he had patiently suffered, into the highest applauses and panegyric.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; and not only a peace was concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Agis,† when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agesilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice. When he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and he caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1041. † Plut. in Agid. p. 802—804.

the most public manner from Tegæa, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition of the lands, which had never been carried into execution.

Agesilaus saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary: Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioecos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal power in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonis, stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a supplicant for him to her father.

All those who were then present, melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonis, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess, pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, "Believe me, O my father," said she, "this habit of wo which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and this affliction into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus; but the sad remains of my grief for the calamities you have sustained in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve? While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your hands? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband? What need shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always

afflicted and contemned by her nearest relations!" Chelonis, at the conclusion of these mournful expressions, reclined her cheek on the head of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments' discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare, at her request, the life of her husband. His solicitations were, however, ineffectual; and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and, when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle! and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain-glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and to reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Democharcs, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. The hope of retaining those costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable, than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas: and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprise him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him, with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual

familiarity of conversation. At the end of one of the streets through which they passed, was a turning which led to the prison; and as soon as they arrived at that corner, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, "Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour." At the same instant Democharés, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed; and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been formally arraigned, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures; to which Agis replied, that he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, whether he did not repent of that proceeding? The young prince answered with an air of steadiness, "That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors." His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed, were usually strangled.

When Democharés saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be accessary to so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who, by this time, were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and entreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have the privilege to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, "Weep not for me, my friend; for, as I am cut off in this manner, contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me." When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord without the least reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the disconsolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: he raised her from the earth, and assured her that Agis had nothing to fear; entreating her, at the same time, to enter the prison and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. "Your request," said he, "is reasonable;" and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess, the moment she came into that dismal place, beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still about her neck. She assisted the executioners in untying it, after which she laid the corpse by her son, as decently as she could, and covered it with a cloth. When this pious office was completed, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, "O my son," said she, "the excess of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us as well as thee!"

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, "Since you knew," said he, "and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment." Agesistrata arose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, "May this," cried she, "at least be useful to Sparta!"

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so atrocious and horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature were here united, and under circumstances which infinitely aggravated their atrocity; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all: so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that

respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the most sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

Agis having been destroyed in this manner,* Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, whom he carried off from her own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time: but Leonidas determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all the means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion to Leonidas; but behaved with the utmost complacency and kindness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her, which never abated; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECT. IV.

Cleomenes ascends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achæans over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta and re-establishes the ancient discipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus and the Achæans. Aratus applies for succour to Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy.

Cleomenes had a noble soul,† and an ardent passion for glory joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but he had not that prince's excessive sweetness of disposition, nor the timidity and precaution which accompanied it. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed to him so glorious as to reign over his citizens with their own good will and consent; but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to compliance with a measure of public utility, an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from a view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. † Plut. in Cleom. p. 805—811.

by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his private interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expense. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming them to temperance, patience, and the equality of freedom, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself in a very successful manner to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno, the Citian.* The Stoic philosophy, which he then professed, was exceeding proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments into the mind; but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He from that time grew solicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in his views, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasion of complaint against them.

Aratus, from the very beginning of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field under the command of

* So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but confidence in the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against them with 20,000 foot and 1000 horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated by this bold measure, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to 5000 men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, "That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were." He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his grand design, and had influence enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus.*

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysiades was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He had imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a set of persons who had been chosen for that action, entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates,† with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself; after which no other

* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p 283. & l. viii. p. 511.

† This magistracy was composed of five Ephori

person whatever sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of fourscore citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of public resort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori except one, where he himself was to sit when administering justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice, and menacing those who were desirous of again beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, by reviving among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he was the first to consign his whole estate to the common stock, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, and at length all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recall them as soon as affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised 4000 foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with strong handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconic discipline, wherein the philosopher Spherus very much assisted him. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfaction occasioned by the innovations which he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and

advantageous to him, than to let his enemies see how much he was esteemed by his troops and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games or shows to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how assured he was of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute attendants. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate railleries, which were always modest, and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse as by his example, affording, in the simple and frugal life which he led, and which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things which he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, without guards, and almost without officers: the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire: he gave all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly Laconic. No music was ever introduced there, nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gayety. He

thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit nor glory to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of an intercourse in which frankness and sincerity always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228. This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardour for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their champaign country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harassed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses,* and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, if it had not been offered to him, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and thus to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expense of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as he will soon appear to have done: jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227. The Achæans being reduced to the last extremities, especially after the loss of this battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes, to negotiate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards despatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on tha.

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem. in Arat. 1044.

condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king set out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident which happened to him prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very disgraceful to him if a young man were suffered, as it were, to graft himself upon him, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command which he had acquired, augmented, and retained for so many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from accepting the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find that the Achæans would not coincide with him in opinion, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought that the intentions of the Lacedæmonians to restore Peloponnesus to its ancient state were very just and reasonable, he had recourse to an expedient which would not have become any Grecian, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. This was, to call in the assistance of Antigonus, king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with him:* but he was sensible that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as for himself; because he knew that, if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and besides, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not have advised them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He, therefore, concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to be tired of the war, as the Achæans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 133—140.

permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers to make that proposal to the king, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of these two states should have those advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired to the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and would have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove adverse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then entreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him, of engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that they were deeply interested in opposing all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to crush this inclination entirely, they attempted to weaken it at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke by uniting their forces. Polybius,* speaking of one of these princes, declares, in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty.†

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that Antigonus should so readily comply with the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised

* Lib. ii. p. 131. † Δεήσεις ἦν αἰτεῖς (μονάρχους) εἶναι χορηγὸς καὶ μισθοδότης.

to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately despatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform the people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to send for them immediately, and to put their interests into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private on the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was unwilling to have those measures imputed to him, but wished them to seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any interference on his part.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the good will of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating measures; and that it should be a point of honour with the republic to endeavour to maintain and terminate her wars by her own forces: and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them;* for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities of Peloponnesus,† of which Argos was the most considerable, and at last seized Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel of Corinth to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus among the other

A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

† Carthyæ, Pellene, Phæneus, Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzene.

hostages. That prince advanced by long marches, with an army of 20,000 foot, and 1400 horse. Aratus set out by sea, with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the isthmus, thought it more adviseable to throw up trenches and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains,* and to harass the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle against such well-disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities; for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes: the only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon, which would require a considerable space of time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 224. While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night, by sea, and informed him, that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having received 1500 men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at Epidaurus.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with 2000 men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, assured them, that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this, however, he was deceived; for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and had sent several couriers to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he, therefore, thought it adviseable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, immediately after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered Corinth, and placed in it a strong garrison. Cleomenes, in

* These were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Bœotia, and mount Citheron. *Strab.* l. viii.

the mean time, arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies' troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

While he was on his march, he received at Tegea, in the evening, some news by messengers from Lacedæmon, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by break of day, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could venture to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand; and though he frequently went to visit her, with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother observing his embarrassment, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have generally a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her, "How, my son," said she with a smile, "is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction?"

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Cratesiclea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him alone into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms; and after she had tenderly kissed him, with her face bathed in tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting; "King of Lacedæmon," said she, "let us dry our tears, that no person, when you quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God." When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her counte

nance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived in Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she was apprized of these circumstances, she sent express orders to her son to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an old woman and a child might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. Antigonus,* in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised 500 talents (about 125,000*l.* sterling,) and armed 2000 of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor much upon their guard, as not being apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and, consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days' march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to Messene to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them their city, provided they

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arat. p. 1048.

would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such noble sentiments, in the very dregs of Greece; for by that name the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was surpassed by the splendour of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to Sparta. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters in the place, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people was soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy, without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth; which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games, in honour of Antigonus. Even Aratus himself was treated with equal disrespect. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprised the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the entreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. After Antigonus had taken the city of Mantinea, and most inhumanly murdered a great number of the

citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being re-peopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new inhabited city* by the name of him who had shown himself its most cruel enemy; a sad, and, at the same time, a salutary example, which shows that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by having himself contributed to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality, nor any shining action, can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them, but merely their election of him as their general? And even that was with a view to the welfare of their cities, and to secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title. If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet; and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, to appear himself at the head of a procession crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the Divinity can claim; to a man who then carried death in his

* Antigonia.

bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shown himself to be an extraordinary person, and well worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty; which amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, cannot form the model of virtue exempt from all blame.

We have already observed,* that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos in order to lay them waste. He conceived at the same time, that either Antigonus would be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, when he would certainly be defeated; or that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But Antigonus, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the open country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and obliged even his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of all Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they considered that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity. A misfortune, however, unhappily prevented him from reinstating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECT. V.

The celebrated battle of Selasia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires into Egypt. Antigonus makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Euergetes, to whose throne Ptolemy Philopator succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of those princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses which the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossus.

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. The Macedonians* and Achæans having quitted their quarters on the approach of summer, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of 28,000 foot and 1200 horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than 20,000 men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into the country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a strong intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution either for defending himself or attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and sound the disposition of the nations who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and their situation secured them from insults in any quarter. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one-third, while they were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expense of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions, alternately disposed, against those of the enemy posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, 2000 Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to oppose those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by 1000 of the Achæan foot and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line, and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the rear of the Achæan cohorts was uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was on the heights, at the same time they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who assaulted them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was

the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. The , however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as absurd. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by this rebuff, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, which by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain, with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He would have attacked them as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harassed them on every side. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he would also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself that victory would infallibly attend his arms. He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity: but as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged them to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philo

pœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought on foot, he had both his thighs pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each of them had about 5000. As the action took place in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops vied with each other in signalizing themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man to man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry beginning to give ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters: and therefore thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the space between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these, in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than 200 Lacedæmonians escaped out of 6000.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus owed his success, in some measure, to the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His boldness and resolution in attacking the light infantry of the enemy with his own troop alone, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that movement, and the delay even of a single moment might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued? Alexander then replying, that it was not

himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner: "That young man," said Antigonus, "in seizing the opportunity, behaved like a great general, but you the general like a young man."

Sparta, on this disaster, showed that ancient steadiness and intrepidity, which seemed to have something of a savage air, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No wife was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and eagerly supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor sit down, though extremely fatigued; but armed as he was, he leaned against a column with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures which he might adopt, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his purposed voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to justify himself, by that action, to the ghosts who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia for the liberty of Sparta. "You are deceived," cried Cleomenes, "if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause; say rather, that such an action is mean and pusillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the retreat from an action, ought to be an action itself,* since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest

* The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless with respect to the public, nor inactive; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions. *Plut. in Lycurg.* p. 57.

breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination."

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Cleomenes had scarce set sail,* before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. What he called preserving that city, was the abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus, though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle obscured that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his city in her ancient splendour and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which they had been founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprises of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broken out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a deep consumption and a continual defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He, however, would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It is said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, "O glorious happy day!" and that he uttered this exclamation with so much exertion, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the sceptre, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first

* Plut. in Cleomen. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shown in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity, of the Spartan manners, tempered with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely above all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for having neglected so great a man, and for having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that
A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. prince. The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with every mark of honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, and would re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents (about 5000*l.* sterling,) with which he supported himself and his friends, with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief
A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. Ptolemy, however, died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness.* The prince whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal care to extend his dominions to the South,† from the time of his concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian, as the Æthiopian coasts, and even to the Straits,‡ which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Some time before this,§ Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake: the walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the docks in the harbour where the ships were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses, nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore relief. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion.

* Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. † Monum. Adulit. ‡ Straits of Babelmandel.
§ Polyb. l. v. p. 422. 431.

The two former of these princes contributed above 100 talents, and erected two statues in the public square; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other that of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation conferred upon themselves. Ptolemy, besides his other expenses, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with 300 talents, a million bushels of corn, and materials sufficient for building ten galleys of five benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, besides an infinite quantity of timber for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with 3000 talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons were desirous of sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady whose name was Chryseis,* and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance 100,000 bushels of corn. Let the princes of these times, says Polybius, who imagine they have done gloriously in giving 4 or 5000 crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described. Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, as I have already observed. Some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. This people,† instead of employing the sums they had received in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphi had forbidden it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground for the space of 875 years; at the expiration of which (that is to say, in the 653d year of our Lord) Moawyas,‡ the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded 900 camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution which the statue had sustained by rust, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than 806,000 pounds, or 7200 quintals.

* Chryseis signifies *golden*.

† Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

‡ Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. and Cedrenus.

BOOK XVIII

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I.

Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great. Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief minister, first removes Epigenes, the ablest of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death. Antiochus subdues the rebels in the East. He rids himself of Hermias. He attempts to recover Cœle-syria from Ptolemy Philopator, and possesses himself of the strongest cities in it. After a short truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of Philopator against the Jews for refusing to let him enter the sanctuary. Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. He turns his arms against Achæus, who had rebelled. He at last seizes him treacherously, and puts him to death.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. I OBSERVED in the preceding book,* that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Euergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of Ceraunus, or the *Thunder*, a title very little suited to his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea suggested by that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus, his cousin, son to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus, and kept prisoner in Alexandria, during all his reign and part of the following.

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. & l. v. p. 366. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xxix. c. 1.

A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia Minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services which the low state of his affairs would admit.

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. As there was no money to pay the forces, and the king was despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and resolution with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience, and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he had not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia,* to be educated, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years.—For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown,† he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo, despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, than they refused to acknowledge him: and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he

* To Seleucia, which is in that province, and the capital of the East, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited

† Polyb. l. v. p. 366.

had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him considered as crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather was odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation which gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill will he bore him.

A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. News being brought of Molo's revolt,* Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be adviseable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœle-syria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the East, in order to take advantage of the most favourable conjunctures and opportunities for acting against the rebels; that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in sight of his prince, and of an army; or in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo, with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Cœle-syria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the East, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against

* Polyb. l. v. p. 386—395.

Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprise against Cœle-syria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, sententious manner, "That it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels." Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master, inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, had had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of the public business; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion (not from conviction, but weakness and indolence,) he contented himself with sending a general and a body of troops into the East; and himself resumed the expedition of Cœle-syria.

The general he sent on that occasion was Xenatas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two former generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment to which his vanity and presumption could never have emboldened him to aspire, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, had advanced into Cœle-syria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after

saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most adviseable to have marched at first against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself affronted by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprise of Cœle-syria, affirming that he could not abandon it, without evincing a levity and inconstancy entirely unbecoming a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame; and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly, the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army on account of the soldiers' arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because, after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus's esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence, well knowing that princes soon forget the virtues and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in so important an expedition. But,* as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner gain possession of him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended plans of economy, watching his every action and bribing his affection by obsequiousness and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehen-

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οἰκονομίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπείαις, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμείου κακοηθείας οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῦ κύριος. *Circumventus et praeoccupatus oeconomiis, et custodiis, et obsequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, sui non erat dominus.* This is a literal translation.

sive of the same fate: but the soldiers having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return; to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's favours! Hermias orders this man to despatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domesties; and, by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, surprised at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly, a search being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise; but fear kept them all tongue-tied and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied are princes!

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Upon the return of the spring he marched them towards the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained so complete a victory over him, that the rebel, seeing all lost, in despair laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers who escaped out of this battle, brought him the mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at last despatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it: a just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted

to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia on the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former foundation.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated to the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepit old man, who was so greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, that he sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. News came at this time,* that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might despatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign, with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of the prime minister had rendered insupportable. Their complaints did not reach the throne, the avenues to which were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he dreaded inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, on whom he had made himself dependant, and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of this prince's disposition, who, at first, was well-pleased with transferring the burden of public affairs from himself to Hermias.

Apollophanes, his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger to which himself was exposed, by the ill-conduct of his prime minister. He therefore warned Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia, who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied; that it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill-design; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him,

* Polyb. l. v. p. 390—401.

may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

The king, as has been already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but had not revealed his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice; and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a solitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused a universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentment. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place: for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

Antiochus,* having so happily re-established his affairs in the East, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises still to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria: one was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœle-syria; and the other against Achæus, who had lately usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Euergetes having seized upon all Cœle-syria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus was not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his

* Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of the nobles. A report was spread at the court of Antiochus that he intended to usurp the crown; and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well grounded or not, he thought it adviseable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and, therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and every state solicited very earnestly his alliance. This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines,* on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; and this report threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged on their side. In the extreme perplexity they were under they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was at that time prisoner in Alexandria. The Rhodians sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon their former footing, and to take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. It was against that prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms.† These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and the subject of the deliberations of his council was, which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms: and accordingly all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, in order to be employed against Cœle-syria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes, the king's physician, represented to him, that it would be a great

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319. † Ibid. l. v. p. 402—409.

oversight should they march into Cœle-syria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it: for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Euergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to avenge the death of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among many inconveniences to which it subjected the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœle-syria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of that province under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king, had expected greater things from his valour; and were persuaded, that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. It is true that, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the insult which had been offered to him by the unjust accusation, and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eyewitness, heightened still more his indignation and resentment. He could not bear the idea of being dependant on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And, indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopator plunged himself during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by Antiphrasis, surnamed *Philopator*.* He publicly caused Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime

* This word signifies a lover of his father.

minister was Sosibius, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as Philopator; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus could not bear to be dependant on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, than he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately despatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, would not however desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of mount Libanus to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was at length forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side: however, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dikes of the Nile, and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœle-syria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; and at last he possessed himself of Damascus,* the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city, in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four months' truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

During the interval of this truce a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns;† in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war: and Antiochus

* Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. † Polyb. l. v. p. 409—415.

for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia Minor of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœle-syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, he being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alleging that it was a shameful and infamous thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. During these contests, in which neither side would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which were the occasion of the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was necessarily obliged to pass; firmly resolved to wait for him there, and to stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he occupied gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but made every preparation both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land forces. The fleets on both sides kept along the coast, and followed the army; so that the naval as well as land forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets also came to an engagement; so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing 4000 of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with

the design of besieging them in it. He found, however, that this conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great number of provisions, and other necessaries; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having made himself master of it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that part of the country, which was formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him; and he gave them 5000 men to keep it in subjection. He marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter quarters.

A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. The campaign was again opened in spring,* Ptolemy caused 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and seventy-three elephants, to advance towards Pelusium. He placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of 72,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants. He first encamped within ten furlongs,† and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another there were perpetually skirmishes between the parties who went to fetch fresh water or to forage, as well as between individuals who wished to distinguish themselves.

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, entered their camp, favoured by the darkness of the night, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian, so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

At last the two kings, resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoë, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, was not content with exhorting the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was, that Antiochus, at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he

* Polyb. l. v. p. 421—428. † Half a French league.

engaged too warmly in the pursuit; Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's centre in flank, which was then uncovered; and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army broken, and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of 10,000 men killed, and 4000 taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to maintain himself in that country against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul on the banks of the lake Thrasymenus and Etruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Cœle-syria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more attached to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities (and from Judea among the rest) to make their submission, and to offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces,* and among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw the temple there,† and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel; making at the same time oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was desirous to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest and that but once every year, on the great day of expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place; and the express law of God, by which he was forbidden to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now all places echoed with lamentations, occasioned by the idea of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and in some places the people were lifting up their hands to implore heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced his way as far as the second court; but as he was preparing to enter

* Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

† The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of Scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two first. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says, that the ground-work of the story is true, though the author has changed some circumstances of it by intermixing fabulous incidents.

the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatened it with his vengeance. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship false deities.

The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia,* arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be most expedient for him to make peace upon any terms with Ptolemy, to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Cœle-syria and Palestine. Cœle-syria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Israel; and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at this juncture; choosing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing them all. A truce was therefore agreed to for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on these terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and have conquered all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this account, was the chief source of the subsequent disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew upon himself in the centre of his own dominions.

A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216. Antiochus,† after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking

* Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11. † Polyb. v. p. 444.

the field. At last he passed mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against their common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made sallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken; Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact is worthy of notice, and confirms the truth of the proverb, which said that the "Cretans were liars and knaves."*

Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus,† and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sosibius to relieve him at any rate whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibius consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think of some method for Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibius, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's service: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten talents‡ were given him to defray his expenses, and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well, that instead of procuring Achæus's escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided between them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. Antiochus was overjoyed at this proposal, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sosibius, and some other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antio

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία. St. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12. † Polyb. p. 522—531. ‡ Ten thousand French crowns.

chus. The king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus's death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of these traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself deserving of it by his infidelity to his sovereign.

It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out.* According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. We also read in Livy,† that the Romans some time after sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra (doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoe) to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an ivory chair:‡ and to the queen an embroidered robe and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Philopator§ had at the same time by Arsinoe,‖ his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.

A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Philopator,¶ from the time of the signal victory which he had obtained over Antiochus at Raphia, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in débauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the duties and character of a king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and his skill in playing upon instruments. The women disposed of every thing.** They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibius, an old artful minister, who had been in office during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked as to pay blind obedience

* Polyb. l. v p. 414. † Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.
‡ This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.
§ Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.
‖ Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings.
¶ Justin. l. xxx. c. 1, & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. l. xv. xvi.
** Tribunatus, præfecturas, et ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno minus, quàm ipse rex, poterat. *Justin.*

to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince and his unworthy minions.

Arsinoe,* the king's sister and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime minister did not show her the least respect. She, on her side, was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring; and they at last grew weary of her continual complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibius to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibius was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the purpose of choosing a prime minister. Sosibius resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus formed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom, during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualifications necessary for duly supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application, of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, abandoned himself to luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to every one.

The wars of the East have made me suspend the relation of the affairs that happen in Greece during their continuance: we now return to them.

SECT. II.

The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caphyæ lost by Aratus. The Achæans have recourse to Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians.

The Ætolians,† particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were becoming very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelaus, to the strait of the gulf of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed

* Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.
† Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331 & 746. Pausan. l. x. p. 650.

Ozolæ. But, in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they were perpetually engaged in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or Justin his epitomizer,* the highest contempt for Rome, which they said was in its origin a shameful spectacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by a fratricide, and formerly by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander had been formidable to them; and at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would do well to beware of provoking the Ætolians against them; a people whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much might be said in the sequel.

From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom,† and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expense, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon himself the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians.

A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered by repose and

* Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. † Polyb. l. iv. p. 272—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyæ, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and entreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly whose fury now turned against his accusers; and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his advice. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; so that he behaved as a wise citizen rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, entreated Philip to keep well with Aratus, and to follow his counsel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus to form himself under his eye and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus's known probity, in order to have the sole ascendant over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity; the sole means to banish for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. That unhappy city was perpetually torn by sedition,* in one of which, one of the Ephori and a great many other citizens were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedon

* Polyb. p. 229—294.

he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegæa, whither he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion, that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

Being arrived at Corinth,* complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war, and selected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised, and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and whilst they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt;† but as a horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes; for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were devised. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed the scheme; declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burden of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time; but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions soon returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occasioned them. After this he thought himself secure;‡ fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad: because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both of whom he despised on account of their tender age. In this security he devoted himself to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 294- 299. † Plut. in Cleom p. 830—223. ‡ Polyb l. v. p 280—285.

by cares or business of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention on what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Cœle-syria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the posts and harbours which lie along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lysimachia, were subject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Enie, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country, he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and warlike stores sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much engaged by his pleasures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's entreaties.

Sosibius, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed such an expense would be useless; for, from the death of Antigonus, all foreign affairs had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his holding the king in the utmost contempt, and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours which he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to

depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sosibius was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, the prime minister had signified his fears lest this prince should raise an insurrection by means of the foreign soldiers. "I answer for them," says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus: "and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they will take up arms in your favour." This made Sosibius hesitate no longer: on a fictitious accusation, which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, where he might maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, which despair only could suggest; and this was, to repel the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to stir up his subjects against him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets, exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them; and afterwards ran to the citadel with intention to force the gates, and set all the prisoners at liberty; but they found them shut and strongly barricadoed. Cleomenes, now lost to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him; but all fled through fear. When they, therefore, saw that it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after having reigned sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which, she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words: "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come!"

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself: and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and cor-

rupted as that of Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of a hydra; and therefore that it would be absolutely necessary to strike at the root of the evil. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim should not be adopted here,* *viz.* that nothing should be attempted in a free state, but what the citizens may be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some desperate diseases in which medicines would only accelerate death? And have not some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state,† that to attempt a reformation at such a time would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws? But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to gain success to his enterprise; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king; and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards inflicted such evils on Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, and with him they have begun the series of the tyrants of Sparta.‡

During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta,§ the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained that he would return again; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a talent,‖ which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and till then had never an example. The factious party, which openly opposed Philip, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election: and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

* Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, Tantum contendere in republicâ, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere. *Cic.* l. i. *Epist.* 9. *ad Famil.*

† Decebat omittere potiùs prævalida et adulta vitia, quàm hoc adsequi, ut pateret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iii. c. 53.

‡ Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit. *Liv.* l. xxxviii. n. 26.

§ Polyb. l. iv. p. 304. ‖ A thousand crowns.

SECT. III.

Various expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles, his prime minister, abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken without opposition. Excesses of Philip's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which at last is concluded.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. We have already related,* that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, had come to Corinth, where their general assembly was held, and that there war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broken their engagements with him by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had gained at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging himself for their perfidy.

Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip.† We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the plunder they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear pillaging the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had sailed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Æmilius the consul attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, and besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. Demetrius,‡ being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However, Philip, who meditated at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand, and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprises; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306. † Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.
‡ Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though they incurred great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: nevertheless, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy, to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans; but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Agesipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, as was Scopas of the Ætolians.

Philip marched from Macedonia with 15,000 foot and 800 horse.* Having crossed Thessaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly against the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to make preparations, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils: this action did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians† intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure he promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.

In the mean time,‡ Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, had left Larissa, and arrived at Corinth without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyæ was to be

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.
† These were a people bordering on Macedonia, to the north of that kingdom.
‡ Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—336.

the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above 2000 natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyon. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except 100 were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis,* in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. As it was the depth of winter, the inhabitants were under no apprehension that any one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with success; for, first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was a most important post, assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to oblige them; and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who always acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. This territory was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been deemed sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infest it, or carry their arms into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

Among the several courtiers of king Philip,† Apelles held the chief rank, and had a considerable influence on the mind of his sovereign, whose governor he had been: but, as too frequently happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing individuals and states. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the same condition as that in which Thessaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain shadow of liberty; and to accustom them to the yoke, he caused them to suffer every kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated on that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was

* A city of Arcadia. † Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a minister who had so shamefully abused his master's confidence, and had therefore deserved to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, everjoyed at the favour which Philip showed them, and at the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his excellent qualities. And, indeed, he possessed those which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, a happy memory, easy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please; and, to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: so that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera,* which was a post of great strength, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

At this time,† Chilo, the Lacedæmonian, pretending that he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and to set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about 200 citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori, who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's house, intending to kill him: but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Chilo then went into the great square of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed in his attempt, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprising to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, whose very name formerly she could not endure. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and especially of their introducing gold and silver into Sparta, which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

Philip,‡ being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possi-

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 339—343. † Idem. 343, 344. ‡ Idem. 344—349.

ble, to get rid of him; and for this purpose he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his conversations with him, he hinted that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much subject to their laws and usages as the meanest of their citizens: whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs some person who might be entirely dependant on him, he then might act as sovereign, and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king: and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whose election Aratus had supported and gained, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more disgusting to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than the least attempt to violate the freedom of elections.

A person was thus chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections. Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, on whom the blame fell, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence: and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily, he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as of the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs on one side of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal for his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices that are grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing, as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inha

bitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: and on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses of its truth. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the influence he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not lightly to give credit to the several things laid to his charge; that it was a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, to command a strict inquiry to be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this, he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him, especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in establishing a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs; how, indeed, would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dymæ, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's request, and found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but no punishment was inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals and intrigues which are almost unavoidable during the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely devoted to Apelles; but as to the other two, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant over them. Taurion presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and Alexander had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he endeavoured to undermine their credit by other methods than those he had employed against Aratus; for, says Poly-

bius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ sometimes praise and sometimes slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: he did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he lost no opportunity of representing him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected, in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who would be dependant entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice towards Aratus, and even direct his criminal designs against the king himself.

I before observed,* that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels, he went to the assembly of the Achæans, which had been appointed on his account to meet at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent need in which he stood of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was passed to furnish him with fifty talents,† the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months' pay for his soldiers, and 10,000 measures of wheat: and, that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen talents‡ a month.

A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. When the troops returned from their winter-quarters, and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was training his Macedonians in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his influence lessened, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed, and not his own, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister, who was best

* Polyb. l. v. 350, 360. † Fifty thousand crowns. ‡ Seventeen thousand crowns.

acquainted with, and then actually in the administration of them. How villanous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidants, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact; and there, as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopped the convoys of money which were sending to the king; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ; and from thence having landed at Cephalenia,* he laid siege to Paleis, a city which, from its situation, would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms; and as enabling him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused his military engines to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig out the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they had got to it, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach more than thirty fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken; but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprise. Deputies had arrived soon after from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, urged him to march directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops; declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the time of the cowardly attack at Paleis, had begun to suspect Leontius, acquiesced in the advice of Aratus.

* As it stood in the Ionian sea.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulf of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa; and after a march of about sixty furlongs, he halted, to give his army some time for refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath; but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traitorous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and set out on his march that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out immediately, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great was their surprise, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and having piled up the rest of the booty at the head of the camp, they set fire to it. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of 15,000, were burnt to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least 2000, were thrown down. A great number of them were broken to pieces; and those only spared

which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods They wrote the following verse on the walls:

Remember Dium: Dium sends you this.

The horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium had inspired Philip and his allies, without doubt convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes; and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken from the very family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta, so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; restoring their prisoners without ransom; himself taking care of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. And lastly, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he rased to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers (even through imprudence) to do the least injury to the temples and other sacred places: and what is still more worthy our admiration, in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burned most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and reverenced all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It were to be wished, continues Polybius, that Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to show that he had succeeded rather to their moderation and magnanimity, than to their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish towns and citadels; to fill up harbours, to capture men and ships, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy and increase his own: but to destroy what neither can do him any prejudice, nor will contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break statues, and similar ornaments of a city, in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and

the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and a heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, showed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to sea, was to go and surprise the city of Thermæ, taking advantage of the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a compass, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and prevented their seizing some passes of the mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopped short. Some rivers were to be passed: it was necessary for him to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia by a swift countermarch. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the defiles without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the skies; so well had he concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprise so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and despatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to characterize a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt (and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough) that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem, in forming extraordinary enterprises, and giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to appreciate the worth of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion; and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels! After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it is reflected upon the monarch. Plutarch,* who enforces what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious to Philip for suffering himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

offered sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving for the success they had given to his arms; and made a splendid banquet for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they vented their animosity against Aratus in the most insulting and most shocking railleries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine, and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; laid a fine of twenty talents* on Megaleas, and threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a croud of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that the young prince would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, "Who has been so bold," says he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas and throw him into prison?"—"I," answered the king in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after he gave security for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

During Philip's expedition against Ætolia,† Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterprise against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis, in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to hasten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous of his allies. The Spartans having heard from public report what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions took place between the two armies, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars, to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and pru

* Twenty thousand crowns. † Polyb. l. v. p. 365—373.

dence far above his years; and this expedition did him no less honour than that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace The king, dissembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wished, and did still wish, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose them to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible to remove and destroy all those who either opposed or were suspected by them; and seeing with grief, that those secret practices had not been as successful as they had flattered themselves, resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over their forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their own interest. The greatest part of the army had staid in Corinth; and they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young men, fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the principal courtiers, and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great haste. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those who were against him enjoyed the highest post in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, and had divided the whole administration among the

selves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it advisable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentment, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it was not easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected.

Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier upon courier to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, had disposed of all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king, being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. He arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, made their reports to him alone. In all the cities of Greece, scarce the least mention was made of the king: for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, honours to be bestowed, or favours to be granted, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprized of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed towards him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, hastened from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendour, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate (having been instructed before) stopped him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he nowise expected, he deliberated for some time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power,* not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quàm fama potentiæ non suâ vi nixæ *Tacit. Annal.* l. xiii. c. 19.

follow him vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house followed only by his domestics: a lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; and of the fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to show their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value, at the will of him who reckons with them; as princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect, now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplice pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; or whether he did not think his power sufficiently established to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for his guardian and governor; still continued occasionally to converse with him, and left him some other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. On his arrival at Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some urgent occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leontius sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence; that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt, and a signal insult (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king;) but that in case Leontius was imprisoned only for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval there arrived from Ætolia, ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days' truce. They assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to a peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out

immediately for that place from Lechæum, and arrived after two days' sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fear, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions; to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however, he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. A little after Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and as such intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the council of regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one side, inspired the young prince (as might naturally be expected) with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want genius, judgment, or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived into what hands he had fallen, but at the same time shut his eyes to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his extortion and oppression were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints against them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

In the mean time,* the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man, and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprises. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some

* Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.

sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He then set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, to take up their winter-quarters in their own country; then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchræa to Demetrias,* where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœle-syria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was then also that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled to Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; nobody obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havoc was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the spring; and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

Philip,† in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania, into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. After taking that city, he marched again towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalus, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was

* A maritime city of Thessaly. † Polyb. l. v. p. 435.

treat of peace, nor to determine their affairs in a manner agreeable to themselves, or as they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, by the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reasons to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection: they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprising genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the sequel of this history will now show us.

SECT. IV.

Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him at Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes Aratus to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians, accede to it. Machanidas usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman prætor, in one of which Philopœmen signalizes himself.

The war between the Carthaginians and the Romans,* who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations of the earth. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that he was more particularly interested, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic sea, now called the Gulf of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, as the event was doubtful, he did not yet perceive clearly which of those
A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216. powers it would be his interest to join. But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively all his doubts were removed, and he hesitated no longer. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice; that he had been

* Liv. l. xxiii. n. 33, 34, & 38.

despatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as with the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, at a time when the defection of their ancient allies had become so general, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them an escort for their safety. Being arrived at Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of 200 sail, and lay waste the sea-coasts; and should assist the Carthaginians with his forces both by sea and land: that the latter, at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils; that after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, and there make war against any power the king should nominate: and that both the cities of the continent, and the islands lying towards Macedonia, should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominions." Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip, for his ratification of this treaty; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by Polybius,* express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty, and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes's lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. In the condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked so vigorously by Hannibal) then were, the discovery of a new enemy, so powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For, without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprise that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

Philip was now wholly employed on his great design of carrying the war into Italy.† Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprise; not so much out of zeal

* Polyb. l. vii. p. 502—507. † Polyb. l. v. p. 439, & 445—447

for the interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and frequently would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprises. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

During the winter season,* he thought of fitting out a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means surprise the enemy when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build 100 or 120 vessels for him; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situated on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundusium, having advice of it, weighed anchor immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had left but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way; and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awakening the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and 3000 of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who stayed at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward, after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of

* Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

For some time, Philip,* who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation, and wisdom, he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states, not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer, as formerly, his fame in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind; the too common effects of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only soured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he used every effort to overreach and surprise the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and kept no terms even with himself: for he was not ignorant of his connexion with his daughter-in-law (a subject of the greatest grief to him,) which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but that this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached him with all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to despatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus's familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of these entertainments poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness; but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprised, he said, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans desired to have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be suited to the glory of his life, and worthy of his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpse from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about 300 years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually: the first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called *Soteria;* and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre; and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as the founder of the Achæan republic: it was he at least who brought it to the form and splendour it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable error, in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince, being become completely wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poisons, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses: insomuch that, though he was at that time very young, and in the bloom of life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

About this time Philip engaged in an expedition against the Illyrians, which was attended with success.* He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated and so strongly fortified that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here, during the night, he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and, for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire, imagined that his defeat was certain: and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. M. Valerius Levinus,† as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to detach some of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the most powerful) from his interest. He therefore began by sounding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chief men among the people; and after having brought them over to his views, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, and proving it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who would have concluded an alliance with them: that Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequences to them: that the Romans had already humbled their pride, and would oblige them, not only to restore such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cause to fear for their own territories: that with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian

* Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521. † Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—26.

state; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greatest credit and authority; strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the prætor, and laid still greater stress upon the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus, and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most was, the hopes of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians should declare war as soon as possible against Philip: that the Romans should furnish them, at least, with twenty-five galleys of five benches of oars: that such cities as should be taken from Ætolia, as far as the island of Corcyra,* should be possessed by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by the Romans: that the Romans should aid the Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarnania: that the Ætolians should not be allowed to conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops out of the territories of the Romans, and those of her allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the same terms." Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities; after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business, and so many enemies, upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the treaty of the Ætolians. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, made preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans, yet took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty; all those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; denounced the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oath; and only desired the Epirots to bury, in the same grave, all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them: HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTO-

* Corfu.

LIANS. Full of courage, they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Such resolution terrified the Ætolians, who had received advice that Philip was already upon his march to aid his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra,* which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians,† several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chlenas, their deputy, represented in the strongest terms to the Lacedæmonians all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lyciscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted upon the ignominy as well as danger of suffering Barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards upon all Greece, which it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your ancestors," continued he, "throw into a well the man who came in Xerxes's name, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with, that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his 300 Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now you are advised to give them up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear,

* A city of Achaia in Phocis. † Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571.

are so much the more dangerous. Let the Ætolians," says he, "if they please, dishonour themselves by so shameful a prevarication: this, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are reported, goes no farther, and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was zealous for Philip, and the other declared openly against him: the latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to succour the Ætolians,* the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece, to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia.† Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to Phalara‡ with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chios; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good will towards the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians, and their confederates, paved the way for his making himself master of all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and in the

* Liv. l. xxvi. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p 612. † A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.
‡ A city of Thessaly.

mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. When he came to the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that in coming to the assembly he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians, but that he was very glad to convince his allies, that he himself was sincerely desirous of peace, and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left 4000 troops to defend the Achæans; and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendour of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busy in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy, and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, in which they would have endangered their lives.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day he laid waste the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to induce the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly surprised to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen galleys, and landed 4000 men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. The fight was very bloody.* Demophantus, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution; and preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantus being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmon before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry

* Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midst of the cavalry; and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a castle, in which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000 head of cattle of all sorts: an advantage which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him, that the Barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately set out to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of 2,500 men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage.

SECT. V.

Education and great qualities of Philopœmen.

Philopœmen,* of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus. He had received an excellent education through the care of Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.

When he was past the years of childhood, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcesilaus, founder of the New Academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and thereby rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in her old age, and after having produced so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for him, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called "the last of the Greeks," as

* Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

Brutus was afterwards called "the last of the Romans;" undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness: but as to his gentleness, patience, and moderation, with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his headstrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtues.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed, by his muscles and stature, to be very well made for wrestling, and some particular friends advised him to apply himself to it, he asked them whether this exercise of the athletæ contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the athletæ, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted, that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the athletic exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw, like one of his slaves, and thus pass the night. The next morning by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in war, he expended either in horses and arms,

or employed in ransoming those of his fellow-citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion; but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must entreat my readers, in order that they may form a right judgment of what I have here said of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as the Hebrews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour, and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is our misfortune that they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of the conversations of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle array; and the histories of Alexander the Great: for it was his opinion, that words should always have reference to actions, and theory to practice; and he had very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tactics, he did not value the seeming demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the field: for in his marches he used to observe exactly the position of the hills and valleys; all the irregularities of the ground; the several different forms and figures which battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, ditches, and defiles, in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves: and after having re-

flected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year, when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. The king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers to attach him to his service. However, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as he did not choose to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the military art. Crete served him as an excellent school; so that he made a great progress, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans with so much renown, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was to inquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble nor suffer such remissness. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, or similar sports, in places where the greatest number of spectators was likely to be found. By this practice he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and movements, to the right, to the left, or from the front to the rear, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, were performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry was only one individual body, moving spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks; nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to

the exalted pitch of glory and power which it attained. Before his time they were despised and weak, because they were divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its peculiar interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was, to form one body, and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprises was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, and gentleness of demeanour; and, what indeed was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, which at length subjected his state to them. But the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his first battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of drawing up their forces, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and strong shields; gave them stout lances; armed them with helmets, breast-plates, and greaves; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously, and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured to effect another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense; and this was, to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expense. I say, to restrain; for he imagined that it would not be possible for him completely to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and ornament. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with the love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other accoutrements of war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dies; coats of mail for horsemen, and jackets for the soldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these things inflamed their courage, breathed into them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Expense in all other things which attract the eye (says Plutarch,) infallibly induces luxury; and inspires all those who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence; the senses, enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. Plutarch observes,* that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers to shun what was superfluous on every other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendour of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of those men who are naturally brave and ambitious, and engage such as are of a covetous temper to exert themselves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable possession. The same author tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was his bestowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of Cæsar,† who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, through fear of losing arms of so great value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals, no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. Mithridates,‡ taught by his misfortunes of how little advantage splendour is to an army, would not allow among his soldiers such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, so signally avenged the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, said to his troops,§ that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, added he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always the consequence of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.‖

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to decide which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But we

* Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

† Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem, et quò tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni. *Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar* c. 67.

‡ Plut. in Lucullo, p. 496.

§ Horridum militem esse debere, non cœlatum auro argentoque, sed ferro et animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam verius quàm arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam sequi: et ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium esse. *Liv.* l. ix. n. 40.

‖ Aciem hostium auro purpuràque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma gestantem. Irent, et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. *Q. Curt.* l. iii. c. 10.

cannot but admire the skill and address of Philopœmen, who, seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it adviseable to attempt to banish it entirely; but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendour consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions, and there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and promptitude. They were wonderfully pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived, that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, became much more easy and light in the wearing, because they took greater delight in carrying them on account of their splendour and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he can be imitated by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: the war which has broken out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and still more their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius, and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to the highest pinnacle of greatness; but then they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in any profession. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury; the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendour, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, for sound philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation, the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the tuition of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distin-

guishing themselves by solid merit; were they, in a word, to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the art of war, to study it in all its branches, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished (and why should we not hope it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taste of the ancients, for simplicity, frugality, and generosity; and direct the taste of the French nation to things truly beautiful, solid, and just! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECT. VI.

Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A digression of Polybius upon signals made by fire.

A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. We have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina.* As soon as spring appeared they quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty galleys. Philip, on the other side, having appointed Larissa, a city in Thessaly, as the rendezvous for his army, advanced towards Demetrias, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture and the necessity of their affairs might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotussa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa, which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to enable himself to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain the nature of these signals hereafter.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Oreum, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it for Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same

* Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5—8.

did not happen with respect to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oreum. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait,* in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as (says Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents rushing down from the mountains; so that ships can never ride there in safety.

Attalus besieged Opus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day.† The city had been just taken before he arrived at it; and he might have surprised Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Oreum, and received advice there that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated the project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games, repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus had sailed away, that fleet had done the same.

Philip was truly grieved to find,‡ that though he employed the utmost diligence, he always came too late to put his projects in execution; fortune, he would say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of the enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest despatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, o

* Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et venti ab utriusque terræ prærupt montibus subiti ac procellosi ferè dejiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicu fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocat; sed temerè, in modum venti nunc huc nun illuc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, ne die, quies navibus datur. *Liv.*

† So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

‡ Philippus mœrebat et angebatur, cùm ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se re in tempore occurrisse: et rapientem omnia ex oculis eluisse celeritatem suam fo enam. *Liv.* l. xxviii. n. 8.

his enemies in avoiding him by flight; that this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies. After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

Digression of Polybius on signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it is so closely connected with the history I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may pass over, if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he has copied almost word for word from Polybius,* mentions these signals made by fire: but then he only hints at them, because, as they were not invented by the Romans, this was consequently a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this use of signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks; and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the branches of that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed upon every thing connected with it, and the astonishing progress they had made with respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military signals.

As the method of making signals by fire,† says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will be proper not to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but especially in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then actually taking place, they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days' journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this means the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Euboeam, et Peparethum mittit, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tisaeo (mons est in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublatis, signum, ubi quid moliretur hostes momento temporis acciperet. *Liv.* l. xxviii. n. 5.

† Polyb. l. x p. 614—618.

Formerly this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to make use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon; and as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known, that a fleet was arrived at Oreum, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this event, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, treason, a horrid murder committed in a city, and such-like accidents, as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and a speedy remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events, as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas,* who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two earthen vessels, exactly equal in breadth and depth: and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of these vessels, but not quite so wide [that they may sink with ease to the bottom of these vessels.] They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided into portions, of three inches each, very distinctly marked, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be written: A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY HEAVILY ARMED ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: A BODY OF CAVALRY AND INFANTRY. On another: SHIPS. Then, PROVISIONS; and so on till all the events, which are foreseen as probable to happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as these vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the

* Æneas was contemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counsellors, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus also wrote on the same subject. Ælian. Tact. cap. 1. Cicero mentions the two last in one of his epistles. *Summum me ducem litera tuæ reddiderunt. Planè nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lectitâsse.* Lib. ix. Epist. 25. ad Papir. tum.

vessels, in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by a uniform execution on both sides.

When this is well ascertained, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed: water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. According as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light, is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. [This first signal is only to ascertain that both parties are ready and attentive.] Then the torch must be taken away, and the cocks set running. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the mouth of the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up his torch; and on the other side the correspondent signal-maker immediately stops the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is written on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and even though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? Add to this, that the inscription on the stick is nowise exact and circumstantial. It does not tell how many horse and foot are come, what part of the country they are in, how many ships are arrived, nor the quantity of provisions. For before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though these are points of the highest importance; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How can a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions, are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenus, while others ascribe it to Democlitus; however, we have brought it to perfection, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactness. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order in five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which will have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The next point is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the information we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several preliminaries being arranged, and each of them taken his post, the man who gives the signal must have a geometrical instrument* with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten feet broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches, which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind it.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given that "A hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy." First, it will be necessary to choose such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as "Cretans, or Kretans,† a hundred have deserted," which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters. The following is the manner in which this information will be given.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. Five torches are then to be lifted up to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is, a K.

Afterwards four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P,‡ which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to

* The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatise.
† The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.
‡ This is the capital letter *R* in the Greek tongue.

denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be communicated in a fixed and determinate manner.

The reason why two sets of lights are used, is because every letter must be pointed out twice; the first time, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to show its place in order in the column pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: but it must be practised a long time before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved, and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, "The art of making signals both by sea and land." The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues (in as short a space of time as a man could write down and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he communicated,) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating news with speed, and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

In the fabulous times,* when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who had spared Lynceus, it is related that when they escaped by flight, and had each arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince; in which the sentinel, appointed to watch for this signal, declares he had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find,† in the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

* Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

† Celeriter, ut antè Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione factâ, ex proximis castellis eò, concursum est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall.* l. ii.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were catched from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans at sunrise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening in Auvergne forty leagues from the other city.

We are told of a much shorter method.* It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of sentinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa (upwards of 150 leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is also related that a Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great,† an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, through so great a distance as that between his hereditary kingdom, and his most remote conquest in India: but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: however, he soon repented it, and very justly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

Pliny relates another method,‡ which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena, besieged by Antony, who kept him closely blocked up, and prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says Pliny,§ were Antony's intrenchments and sentinels to him? Of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his route through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are fastened to the pigeons' neck, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

Description of the instrument employed in signals made by fire.

M. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fel-

* Cœl Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8.

† Vigenere, in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author. ‡ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

§ Quid vallum, et vigil obsidio, atque etiam retia anno prætexta profuere Antonio, per cœlum cunte nuntio?

low-member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument, mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive to have been constructed the instruments described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

AB is a beam about four or five feet long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, CD, EF, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam, and three or four feet long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superfices very smooth. In the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be driven in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2,) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six lines in diameter,* shall project seven or eight lines above the superfices of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders GH, IK, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross piece on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood CD, EF, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend some lines beyond the superfices of the plates, and in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be made.

The tubes must be blackened within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed towards the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be about three or four lines; and at the other end must be placed two

* Twelfth part of an inch.

threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam AB must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot LMNOP, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferentors, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans and surveys, &c.; but it has the same use, which is, to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must each have a similar instrument: otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals are made to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens PQ, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstances of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I have endeavoured is, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals, by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use, for giving signals at a considerable distance; for it is certain that how large soever this machine be, signals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5, torches, will not be seen at 5, 6, or more leagues' distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide-spreading fires of whole loads of straw or wood; and, consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments would have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: but I still doubt, whether they could be employed for the purpose mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate its wants to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a siege, in order that proper measures might be taken; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECT. VII.

Philopœmen gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta. The high esteem in which that general is held: Nabis succeeds Machanidas. Some instances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included.

A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. The Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

In the first,* Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of their dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit; but of the good condition and splendour of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, insomuch that at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words, for then it is scarce impossible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions: and for himself, he was particularly careful never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study during his life, to speak nothing but the truth: and indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade, his conduct being a model of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, all returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside at the head of affairs, the state would never suffer any loss. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations for the war, he took the field.

Machanidas,† tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head

* Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631. † Polyb. l. xi. p. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 361.

of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with catapultæ,* and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that ran along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of the Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some Tarentine horse,† were on the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few but energetic words. Most of them were even not heard; for he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they were sufficiently inclined of themselves to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and form a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he caused all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones: however, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides: and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, giving them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers, who sus-

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

† The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28

tained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested. That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or losing his presence of mind, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage by charging in front that instant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, and pursues, without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear alone would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till farther orders; and at the same time directed Polybius,* the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting the ranks, and flying, as the rest had done, had drawn off to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the first success of their right wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether that from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, because it was dry and had no hedge; and besides, being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long awaited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be sounded.

* The late [French] translator of Polybius mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error the more excusable.

His troops, levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. The latter, who at their descending into the ditch, had broken their ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, than they immediately fled; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own soldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, it now remained to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; and being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited, and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place where he might pass it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle and the trappings of his horse: so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse, which springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen hurled his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegæa, entered the city with them, and being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost not less than 4000, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which statue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance, or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and made every necessary disposition for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflections) Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch: not to avoid coming to battle, as some have imagined, but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he had examined it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being stopped by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would

be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprise, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

It appears to me that these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side, and in which, for that reason, one may follow, as it were, with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers, observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages resulting from the study of history.

A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205. It is related that, in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized this year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen, being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival, caused his phalanx, very splendidly clothed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without ever breaking or disordering their ranks. He afterwards went into the theatre, in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success, under this illustrious general, had inspired them.

The very instant that this flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of Timotheus,* happened accidentally to repeat the following verse:

The wreath of liberty to me you owe.

The grandeur of the poetry being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory, so greatly did a general, like Philopœmen, increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always

* This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the 95th Olympiad, i. e. 398 years before Christ. One of his pieces was entitled *The Persians*.

fond of those they are used to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are restive, and prance about with their new rider; the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived and were ready for action; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made the enemy tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and by nations, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it possible for any man to be so void of taste and sound sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagined they derived from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expense of their tables? Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do; but then he placed it in what it really consists; the clothing his troops splendidly; providing them good horses and shining arms: supplying, with a generous hand, all their wants both public and private; distributing money seasonably to encourage the officers, and even the private men: in acting thus, Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was, its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence studious of nothing but to make itself new claims, or to support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, a still greater tyrant than the former, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

Nabis,* in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours in laying the solid foundation of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to the chief men of his party. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens; he acted in such a manner, that they could not find any secure asylum, even in foreign countries: some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries, and he recalled others from banishment, with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, representing a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person to extort money from him, he would first converse with him in the kindest and most gentle terms, on the danger with which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was menaced by the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of the state; the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the public. In case the person spoken to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: but, if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the talent of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will be able to persuade you." Apega was the name of his wife. He no sooner uttered these words than his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to the person. The hands, the arms, and breast of this machine, were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under the clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying her's round his waist, clasped him to her bosom, whilst he uttered the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be capable of contriving, in cold blood, such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmost detestation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty, it is astonishing I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. I have already observed, that the Romans, employed in a more important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece.* The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only

* Liv. xxix. n. 12.

refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, when P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies (with the proconsul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom; and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the allies was terminated by a peace, which was of no long continuance.

SECT. VIII.

The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philophator's death.

The history of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions in Asia, and therefore we now return to them.

A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Antiochus,* after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched towards the East, to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles, in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful kingdom in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city surpass in richness and magnificence, all others in the world, and the king's palace is 700 fathoms round. Though all the wood-work was of cedar and

* Polyb. l x. p. 597 -602.

cypress, yet not the least piece of timber was visible; the joints, the beams, the ceilings, and columns which sustained the porticos and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilded columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to 4000 talents, or about 600,000*l.* sterling.

Arsaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground; but no one, except those that know the country, can find them. On this subject, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expense to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more circumstantial here, and had explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were constructed, and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we are led to suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. When Arsaces saw that Antiochus was crossing the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would impede his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to regulate the affairs of the province, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media; Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that by securing some passes of the mountains, which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to disturb him.

A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. However, he was mistaken: for, as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks to be made, and soon forced them all. He afterwards reassembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

In the mean time Arsaces was very busy.* As he retired, he reassembled troops, which at last formed an army of 120,000 foot and 20,000 horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and checked their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him for terminating so tedious a war.

A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that Arsaces should continue in possession of Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already shown in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who maintained for a long time a war against Antiochus. The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria;† but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which, however, was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

At last he grew weary of a war in which he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He

* Justin. l. xli. c. 5. † Polyb. l. x. p. 630, 631, & l. xi. p. 651, 652.

therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just: that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that
A. M. 3798. should they persist obstinately in disputing for it,
Ant. J. C. 206. those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. This reflection made an impression on Antiochus, who by this time was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war, and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of the peace, he passed mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to 150. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence in Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.
A. M. 3799. He passed the winter in the latter country. From
Ant. J. C. 205. thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprises, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.
A. M. 3800. A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was
Ant. J. C. 204. brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was little more than twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

BOOK XIX.

SEQUEL

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CHAPTER I.

SECT. I. Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Palestine and Cœle-syria. The war of Philip against the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He besieges Abydus. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war against Philip. Sulpitius the consul is sent into Macedonia.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. I RELATED in the preceding book how Ptolemy Philopator,* worn out with riots and excesses, had closed his life, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were, Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain themselves in the same authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might easily be done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibius in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to despatch him.

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the Macedonians† was assembled, in which Agathocles, and Agathoclea his sister, were present. Agathocles, after

* Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

† Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who were descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of those to whom the same title had been granted.

shedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He tells them, that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians: that for this reason he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he was well informed, had meditated a design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately despatched, and that in consequence he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in the Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and Œnanthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared; the usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people; but which does not effect the reformation of those who resemble them.

Philammon, the assassin, who had been hired to murder Arsinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking this opportunity, which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibius, son to him who had governed during the last three reigns. History does not inform us whether the father was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above threescore years in the administration. No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibius.* He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoe, daughter of that Lysimachus; of Magas, son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice, daughter of Magas; of Berenice, mother of Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and lastly, of Arsinoe, daughter of Berenice. It is surprising that, notwithstanding the inhumanity and cruelty of his administration, he should have supported himself so long in it, and at last come to a peaceable end.

* Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Antiochus king of Syria,* and Philip king of Macedonia, during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet, no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, than they immediately joined in a criminal alliance, and excited each other to shake off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Cœle-syria and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes, that the larger ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes; but it fully justified his conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following their conduct. For, whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piecemeal, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

During that time,† Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus.

A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. The next year he attacked Attalus,‡ and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting that city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished their statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from the foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chios. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, 3000 Macedonians, and 6000 allies; and 2000 Macedonians and confederates, with 700 Egyptians,

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707 & 708. & 73. † Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 72

‡ Polyb. ibi. p. 60. Diod. ibi. p. 294.

were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons; the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had taken his station even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sensible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men either by sea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and was forced to abate much of his former vivacity.

A. M. 3303. Ant. J. C. 201. Nevertheless,* the ill success of this battle did not make Philip despond. The character of that prince was, to be unshaken in his resolutions, and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cianians; a barbarity with which he is often reproached, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Cianians, was a small city of Bithynia. The governor of it had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it at the request of his son-in-law Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death; and the city was rased to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Cianians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens, and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is surprising they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages; which shows, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice they make of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and the Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him, and even refused to hear the deputies he had

* Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709—711.

sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestus in Europe. The distance between these two cities was about two miles. The reader will suppose that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the straits, and made those who were possessed of it, masters of the communication between the Euxine sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have risen to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, than they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydenians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But finding that the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians were carrying their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other, they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: That such forces, as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydenians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This report being made, the besieged, in transports of despair, assemble together, and consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution; first, that the slaves should be made free, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour: secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: that they then should bring into the great square all the gold and silver in the city, and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the Quadrireme of the Rhodians,* and the Trireme of the Cyzicenians. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most ancient of the citizens, but who at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what might be determined; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy

* Quadriremes were galleys with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with

master of the inward wall, they would kill the women and children, set fire to the two galleys laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all their gold and silver which they had heaped together: then sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand; and after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the last Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault, yet when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydenians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury, and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they rushed headlong upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, and broke the sarissæ or long spears of others, and with the pieces struck their faces, and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydenians; and those who had escaped, were so overwhelmed with fatigue, and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to bring themselves to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip, by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in their pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open the gates to him.

Accordingly, the next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip; while the greatest part of the Abydenians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens, and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydenians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made furious and distracted, some were smothering their wives and children, and others stabbing them with their own hands; some were running to strangle them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized

with horror at this spectacle, stopped the soldiers, who were eager for plunder, and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval, they would change their determination; but their resolution was fixed. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before been spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously (with regard to the Romans) terminated the second Punic war. The court of Egypt,* being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had had recourse to the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch at his death had recommended them thus to act. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had had some differences, which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprises of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmi-

* Justin. l. xxx. c. 2 & 3. & l. xxxi. c. 1 Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2, 18.

lius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos, at the very time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the senate to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece, nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration the claims which he had upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. "But," says Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the Athenians and Abydenians attack you first?" Philip,* who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; "Your age," says he to the ambassador, "your beauty (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person,) and especially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wish your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me; but, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation." The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer, and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius, being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out: and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes, the Acarnanian, to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

In the mean time the forces of Philip† laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows: Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the great mysteries were solemnizing there, had entered with the crowd into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbidden. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces,

* *Insueto vera audire, ferocior oratio visa est quàm quæ habenda apud regem esset. Æmilius, inquit*, et forma, et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primùm velim vos fœderum memores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacesseri is, nihil quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minùs quàm Romanum nobile bello sentiatis. *Liv.* l. xxxi. n. 18.

† Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14

with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

The Athenians* carried their complaints against this enterprise to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the ambassadors of the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia. This made the Romans very uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it adviseable to prevent the enterprises of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

In the mean time the Roman senate† deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in person; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the propætor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed, that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Upon this news,‡ the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty galleys, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose; having himself taken the field against Attalus and the Rhodians.

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1—3. † Ibid. n. 5. ‡ Ibid. n. 14.

SECT. II.

Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flamininus succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cœle-syria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes, the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.

A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Claudius Cento,* whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræeus with his galleys, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with placing the city and the country round it in a state of security; but as he had been informed that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as considering themselves remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the sentinels asleep, entered it without molestation; set fire to the public magazines, which were full of corn, and to the arsenal, that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garrison to pieces; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræeus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of surprising the Romans. However, they were gone; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to view the mournful spectacle presented by that city, still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers, called Hemerodromi,† who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before daybreak. Perceiving that his stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in order of battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviseable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country seats, on the places for the public exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places.

He marched from hence with a view of surprising Eleusis, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

* Liv. l. xxxi n. 22—26.

† They were so called for running a great number of miles in one day.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his incursions. Philip offered to undertake alone the management of that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much: that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Oreum, Chalcis, and Corinth; that he might not leave the places behind him without defence, whilst he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage it in the war against the Romans. Cycliadus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing, that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works, as remained in that country. After this expedition, he retired into Bœotia.

The consul,* who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment, under the command of Apustius the lieutenant, who laid waste the open country, and took several small cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians on their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors; he who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the conditions of the peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua; the last city, especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, or magistrates; having been more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners," says he, "who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 27—32.

language, slight disputes may arise of little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with barbarians, we, as Greeks, are, and shall for ever be, at war. In this same assembly three years since you concluded a peace with Philip; the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affected manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most venerated tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion on Athens, and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power that of the gods alone could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonian, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and adduced us an example to the contrary, the instance of Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented in a short, but strong and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family and his friends; his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But to confine my speech to what relates directly to you," says the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war against Philip, with no other view than to defend you; and you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. However, having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should choose to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed

by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now, he said, might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest army.

In the mean time,* Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ. Philip also took the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service, caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory.

Nothing† is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. The spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had quite a contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in a war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons than arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades covered with deep and wide gashes, made by the Spanish sabres, whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped away, and heads separated from the bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himself, who had never yet seen the Romans engaged in a regular battle, was terrified at the sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides, and marched thither with his army, consisting of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse; and posted himself at a little above 200 paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, that what he saw was not the camp of Barbarians.‡

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

† Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæstimabile est quàm animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metuam pigritiamque incussit. *Liv.*

‡ The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in order of battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of about 1500 men, the one-half horse and the other foot; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided, with no less prudence, an ambuscade, which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles' distance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march, and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers.

There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way, whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter; during which the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp; upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out and succour their comrades wherever they could; as for himself, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in a hollow square against the enemy. The troopers, being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first, being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought in different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which, by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army: not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king, and the Cretans, fighting in a compact body, and with the

utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers who fled, perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy, who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before, now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; and numbers fell, not by the sword alone, as several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger: for having been thrown by his horse, which had received a severe wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it; but the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have already seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated on those of the military profession, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army, and suffer themselves to be deprived, through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and which they might have secured.

Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but he dreaded coming to a second; and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore despatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms, in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, set out without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

Sulpitius began his march the next day,* not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses of importance, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39—43.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to choose their side, no longer hesitated to declare for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both nations made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus,* and came into the Piræeus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful a succour. In a free city like that of Athens,† where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed: that the festivals, sacrifices, and priests, established in honour of them, should be abolished: that every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraved relating to them, should be declared impure and profane: that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods for the Athenians, their allies, their armies, and fleets, should also denounce imprecations and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, and kingdom, his forces both by sea and land; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, that whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people: and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed on the spot, without any formality. The last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratidæ, should likewise be enacted against Philip. In this manner the Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances,‡ which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræeus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands; after which Attalus and the Romans separated, and went into winter-quarters.

A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. In Rome the year following,§ new consuls being chosen, Villius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 44—47.

† Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam; quod genus, cùm in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. *Liv.*

‡ Athenienses quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversùs Philippum gerebant. *Liv.* § Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49 & l. xxxii. n. 3.

the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the hope of protection from the Romans, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he possibly look upon this ceremony as a strong tie, and one capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; when he himself professed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor show the least veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

As to the Macedonians,* he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and had been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who, finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious as not to scruple the commission of the blackest crimes, had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the consummate villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved with the meanest and most grovelling adulation towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined a powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned a universal joy amongst the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius, on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or to carry off convoys.

A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. †T. Quintius Flamininus‡ having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 672, 673. † Liv. xxxii. n. 9—18.
‡ Plutarch calls him Flaminius but it is an error, these being two different families.

did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out for Rome at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by leave of the senate, was to command the fleet.

At the beginning of this year, Antiochus attacked Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. They entreated the Romans, in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The senate made answer, that as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces; that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their influence with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his troops as well as ships, which they now employed against Philip their common enemy: that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace with each other. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Cœle-syria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had intrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings, and for this purA. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. pose he raised the best troops he could. He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money,* to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country,† and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time of continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought 6000 soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. The administration of Alexandria,‡ seeing Antiochus employed in Asia Minor, in the war which had broken out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœle-syria, to endeavour to recover those provinces. He carried on the war there so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judæa, threw a garrison into the

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43. † Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60. ‡ Hieron. in c. xi. Dan. Josephs. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

citadel of Jerusalem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria; whither he brought (besides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. He no sooner arrived there in person,* than the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the 10,000 men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals at the head of the choicest troops of the state had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus made such judicious arrangements, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above mentioned; after which he turned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

Antiochus went from thence to Gaza,† where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly, having taken the city, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœle-syria.

The instant that the Jews,‡ who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus was advancing towards their country, they came very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities; and when he came to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

Antiochus,§ in his eastern expeditions, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent 2000 Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and granted them a variety of extraor-

* Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.
† Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87. & Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.
‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 § Ibid.

dinary favours. From these Jews, transplanted at this time, descended many of those who were *dispersed or scattered abroad*,* whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel times.

Antiochus, having thus subjected all Cœle-syria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by reuniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. As it would be necessary,† for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintius Flamininus (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were masters of the eminences; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this circuitous march, he was afraid to move too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, in which they could not agree upon terms, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to

* They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. *To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad.* Jam. i. 1. *To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia.* 1 Peter i. 1.

† Hieron. in c. xi. Daniel.

attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and balistæ, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds, who fed their sheep in these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way, which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them, as their guarantee, Charops, a person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus having such a voucher, sends a general with 4000 foot and 300 horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprise, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; and having perceived on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon between them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the heights, with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fall upon the Macedonians, who, seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, are struck with a panic, and fly with the utmost speed. However, not above 2000 of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all the persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition, than to their past fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots, and conciliated their affection. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he made himself master of the most considerable of them. Atrax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it,

In the mean time, the Roman fleet,* reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Carystus, garrisoned by Macedonians, after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchrea, a port of Corinth.

The consul having marched into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that shut her gates against him; so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were on the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors sent in the consul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans.—They had received, from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was suspected, on account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip; the Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassadors should advance. They spoke with greater virulence against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that all those who intended to speak, might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristænus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute, at your tables, and in your conversations, about Philip and the Romans; which generally rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut one another's throats? And now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and arguments on both sides, you are mute! Surely, if the love of

* Liv. l. xxii. n. 16—35

your country cannot loose your tongues, ought not the party zeal which has biassed each of you in private, either for or against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to speak; especially as there is none of you but knows that it will be too late, after the resolution should be once taken?"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any of the members to give his opinion; nor even occasion the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though so very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristænus then spoke again to this effect; "Chiefs of the Achæans; I perceive plainly that you want courage more than counsel, since not one among you dares to speak his sentiments, with regard to the common interest, at the risk of danger to himself. Was I a private man, I possibly might act as you do; but being the chief magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either that the ambassadors should not have been allowed a seat in our assembly, or that they should not be dismissed without some answer. Now, how will it be possible for me to make any, unless you authorize me by a decree? But, since not one among you is willing, or dares to speak his thoughts, let us suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the ambassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many counsels they give, not for their own interest, but purely for ours; and let us weigh them maturely. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, desire our friendship and alliance; and they request us to assist them in their war against Philip. On the other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we concluded with him, and sealed and ratified by an oath: one moment he requires us to join with him, and the next he insists upon our observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you surprised to hear those who are not yet our allies, demand more than he who has long been one? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Philip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts them to act and speak as they do. This difference in their sentiments, arises from the disparity of their strength and situation. My meaning is; we see nothing here belonging to Philip, but his ambassador; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near Cenchrea, laden with the spoils of Eubœa; and the consul and his legions, who are but at a little distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and Locris with impunity. You are surprised that Cleomedon, Philip's ambassador, should have advised you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take up arms in favour of the king against the Romans. If, in consequence of the treaty in question, and of the oath on which he lays such stress, we should require Philip to defend us against Nabis, the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would not have any answer to make, much less would he be able to give us any real succour. This we experienced last year, when, notwithstanding the express words of our alliance,

and the mighty promises he made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians to ravage our lands without any opposition. In my opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict himself in every part of his speech. He spoke with contempt of the war against the Romans, pretending it would have the same success as that which they had already made with Philip. Why then does he implore our succour at a distance, and by an ambassador; instead of coming and defending us in person (we who are his ancient allies) against Nabis and the Romans? Why did he suffer Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why has he abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he suffer Elatia to be besieged at this instant? Was it superior strength; was it fear, or his own will, that made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go and conceal himself in the most remote part of his kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep them from providing for their own safety? If he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it, do you, Cleomedon, believe, that it is possible for us, Achæans, to make head against the Roman arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged to submit? No comparison can be made between the past and the present war. The Romans, at that time employed in affairs of greater importance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now, that they have put an end to the Punic war, which they sustained sixteen years in the very heart of Italy, they do not send succours to the Ætolians, but they themselves, at the head of their armies, invade Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third consul whom they have sent against him, having found him in a post which seemed inaccessible, did nevertheless force him from it, plundered his camp, pursued him to Thessaly, and took, almost in his sight, the strongest fortresses belonging to his allies. I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athenian ambassador has advanced concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and the excesses, of Philip, is not true; that the crimes which he committed in Attica do not any way affect us, any more than those he perpetrated in many other places against the gods, celestial and infernal; that we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion the injuries we ourselves have suffered from him. In a word, let us suppose that we are not treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and from whom we all have received the greatest services; would he make a demand like that which has been insisted on to-day, so evidently adverse to our safety and preservation? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should come and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, will it be possible for the king to support us against such formidable enemies, or shall we be able to defend ourselves? Past transactions point out to us what we must expect hereafter. The medium which is proposed, of our standing neuter, will infallibly render us a prey to

the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for the event, before we would declare ourselves. Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. We must either have the Romans for our friends or for our enemies; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us their friendship and their aid. To refuse so advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, which will never return, would be the highest folly, and show, that we run voluntarily on our own destruction.

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates, called *Demiurgi*, were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, as the laws appointed the assembly to end at that time. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to refer the debate. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, entreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety; and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last suffered himself to yield to paternal authority.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough their own sentiments, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed: and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who had even very lately done them considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchrea. They at first carried on the attack very faintly, from he hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and

the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides, and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it, Lucius at last acquiesced in the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleet. The former sailed to the Piræeus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, where he was more successful; for, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT. III.

Flamininus is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sickness and death of Attalus. Flamininus defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when proclamation is made that they are restored to their ancient liberty by the Romans.

A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. New consuls were appointed at Rome;* but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia was justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

The season being already advanced,† Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not yet know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or to dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliadus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, whom

* Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27 & 28. † Ibid. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynander, king of Athamania, and by deputies from all the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them; and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Pheneas, their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: "We are not met here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful."—"A blind man may see that," replied Philip, ridiculing Pheneas, whose sight was bad. Philip was very fond of jests,* and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the most serious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This first interview being spent in altercation, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who, having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly entreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace; and he now merely requested time for sending ambassadors to Rome, promising, either to agree to a peace on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed upon, but on condition, that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalchis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia (cities which he himself justly, though insolently, called the shackles of Greece,) it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they began a prolix harangue, they were interrupted and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question or not? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace, or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put

*rat dicacior naturâ quàm regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis tem a. *Liv.*

an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

Philip now seriously engaged in making the necessary preparations for war.* As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achaia, on account of their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he thought it expedient to deliver up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possessions of such of the principal men as had fled were plundered: and those who stayed behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and cheerfully, were not molested farther; but such as were either suspected of concealing their riches, or discovering only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. At length Nabis having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was master of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to the conditions of a treaty which he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted; in consequence of which the proconsul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a step which seemed very unbecoming the dignity of either. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to four months' truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. This alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expense even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and deprived them of all their riches: a little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly, she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by

* Liv. l. xxxii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable furniture, and all their precious stones and jewels.

When the spring was come,* (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter,) Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, who till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces and unguarded; but were greatly surprised when they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprise; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous, to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done to all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead; so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristænus, captain general of the Achæans, spoke next: and after him, Quintius, who said but little; and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose, or speak against it.

As Attalus's disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatia; highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength he was carried to Pergamus,† where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 1, 2. † Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed inviolable fidelity towards his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king, and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

The armies on both sides had set out upon their march,* in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about 25 or 26,000 men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius, and Livy, who frequently copies him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a great number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce support them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at the most four, branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulders, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Besides, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest; and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number, two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, as they were so closely entwined, that no vacant place was left; besides which, all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But even supposing any hold could have been laid on them, yet the stake could not easily be torn up, for two reasons; first, because it was driven so deep in the ground, that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwoven, that it was impossible to pull up one without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or

* Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3—11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373 Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

three men put their whole strength to them, it yet was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet, even if by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places, still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks: they were to be had every where, could be carried with ease, and were a strong palisade to a camp, which could not easily be broken through.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which relate to the usages and practices of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints: and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may in any respect conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After some slight skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotussa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, with orders to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephalæ, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about 1000 light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them, in the strongest terms, to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first both parties were a little surprised at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to their general of what was going forward. The Romans, being severely handled, despatched a courier to their camp to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians, and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded 1000 men, with 500 horse, which, joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, despatched Heraclides, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived; they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would ained a complete victory, had it not been for the resistance he Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage dity. This was the best of all the Grecian cavalry, and

was particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not withstand the repeated shouts and entreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Asia and the whole East, subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought now to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. The proconsul put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained: on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: and, which ought to rouse their courage the more, this very Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated by them more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired* by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East; and on the other, conquerors of the West; the former, elated with the glorious achievements of their ancestors, and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained, prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and, marching with a haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastened towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after, seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support,

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentesque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*

he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to close their ranks on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and now charged the Macedonians. The onset being begun, each side sent up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage; for as he charged with impetuosity from the heights with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and whose front presented an impenetrable hedge of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broken and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded that if he could but break it and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give it depth, in which the whole strength of the body consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, was charging the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was (it not being in want of support,) and consulting only his own reason, and the present disposition of the armies, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a complete victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them behind he drew off with a body of troops

to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement; when perceiving that the Romans, who pursued the left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted to wait for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent as to send orders to Larissa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape, for they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found scarcely any thing in it. They reproached them at first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest invectives. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about 700 men in this battle, and the Macedonians 13,000, whereof 8000 died in the field, and 5000 were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: but they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring, without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans; and spread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who did not act with due prudence and caution towards allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely, had he shut his eyes and ears to many things, and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus, who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce for burying their dead; but in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests, and was so polite as to bid the messenger tell the king, "that he desired him not to despond." The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people

were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of their disposition from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him with bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the appointed place of meeting, which was at the entrance of Tempe. He assembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amynander, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought to be concluded as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, that if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken: that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; "You do not know," says he, "either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip; but have always been inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design? How shameful are such sentiments! When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness; but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness, and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and the Gauls,* who, were they not checked by it, would certainly pour down upon Greece, as they have frequently done before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion and that of the council was, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might adopt whatever

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

resolution they pleased on this occasion. Phœneas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war: "I shall take care of that," replied the proconsul; "and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing against us."

The next day Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after, the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute, whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only Phœneas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months' truce; whereupon he received 400 talents* from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages; and gave him permission to send to Rome to receive such farther conditions from the senate, as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

Whilst these measures were concerting to bring about a general peace,† some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king, at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above 6000 men: he was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments, some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucas. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had

* Four hundred thousand French crowns. † Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.

seen unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, in order to take advantage of the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.

A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. At Rome,* the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and public prayers, during five days, were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war against Philip.

Some days after, the ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia. The affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to their respective views and interests: but, at last, the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose; for the people approved of Flamininus's proposal, and ratified the conditions. The senate then appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order to settle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome; but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broken out in Bœotia, between the partisans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

The ten commissioners,† who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: That all the other‡ cities of Greece, both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, five feluccas excepted, and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers: that he should pay 1000 talents;§ one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages

* Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24 & 27—29.

† Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

‡ This word *other*, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. § About 190,000*l.*

required of him was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment; Antiochus seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, was at that time meditating to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and interests) made head against Rome at the same time; it is certain the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and in as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words: that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty; with which specious term the Romans covered their interested views: that they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Oreum, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flamininus to restore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the keys of Greece; and to put strong garrisons into them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, formed the topic of all conversations, and various opinions were entertained concerning them; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all

the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when, the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice: THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING OVERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, SET AT LIBERTY FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE LOCRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBŒANS, THE PTHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At these words,* which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. And now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded with them at a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium: so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over, without any attention being paid to them; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other sentiments.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him; he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above thirty-three years old,) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever experienced a more happy or a more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we heap together all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear,

* Auditâ voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse: alii alios intueri, mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem: quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ub certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, tollesque repetitus, ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeò unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium allarum sensum voluptatum. *Liv.* l. xxxiii. n. 32.

when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be, to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to mankind.

The remembrance of so delightful a day,* and of the valuable blessings then bestowed, was continually renewed, and for a long time formed the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "That there was a people in the world, who at their own expense and the hazard of their lives, engaged in a war for the liberty of other nations; and that, not for their neighbours, or people situated on the same continent, but who crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to establish, universally, law, equity, and justice. That by a single word, and the voice of a herald, liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece and Asia. That a great soul only could have formed such a design; but that to execute it was the effect at once of the highest good fortune, and the most consummate virtue."

They called to mind all the great battles,† which Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. "After sustaining so many wars," said they, "never was its valour crowned with so blessed a reward, as when strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It was then, that almost without shedding a drop of blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the greatest and noblest of all prizes for which mankind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare at all times; but of all virtues, justice is most rare. Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining battles both by sea and land; but then it was for themselves and their country, not for strangers and foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was reserved for the Romans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the present state of the affairs: and the effects soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games; for the commissioners separated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed president of the Nemean games. He discharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the festival; and he also published by a herald at these games, as he had done at the others, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good regulations

* Nec præsens omnium modò effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstet: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Unâ voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc ipe concipere, audacis animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis et fortunæ ingentis. *Liv.* n. 33.

† *Plut. in Flamin.*

in them, reformed the administration of justice, restored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels and seditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks one to another, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that even liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And, indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, "I repay with usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all mankind praise him." But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in causing them to be praised, but also infinitely conduced to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the Divine protection (to use Plutarch's expression,)* the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly of the Greeks which was held at Thermæ,† a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared: and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, since the victory they had obtained, did not show so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans not only would never have conquered Philip, but would never have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer

* Θεοῦ συνιφαπτομένου.

† According to Livy, it was Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has justly translated Polybius in this place, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θερμικῶν σύνοδον. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is of Ætolia.

them to the senate, assuring them, that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECT. IV.

Complaints being made and suspicions arising concerning Antiochus, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect, than to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian against Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flamininus against Nabis, whom he besieges in Sparta: he obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.

The war in Macedonia had ended very seasonably for the Romans, who otherwise would have had upon their hands at the same time, two powerful enemies, Philip and Antiochus: for it is evident, that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. After having left himself nothing to fear on the side of Cœle-syria and Palestine,* by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia Minor, and among them that of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs; and the reinstating himself in the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia, who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being of themselves unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they had recourse to the Romans for protection, which was readily granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the West; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. They were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of Lysimachia† all in ruins (the Thracians having demolished it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with a design of forming a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son; and to bring all the country

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

† This city stood on the isthmus or neck of the peninsula.

found it under his dominion, and to make this city the capital of the new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by some deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole time was passed in mutual civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him; to evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip: it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and not to molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized: that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him and not from the Romans they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no farther in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. They spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and every thing seemed to tend to an open rupture.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysima- with the army to complete the projects he had formed with d to those parts. He first landed at Ephesus, where he caused ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as le for Egypt. On his arrival at Patara in Lycia, certain

advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. He then changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and frustrated all his measures. He thought himself very happy in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with the remnant of his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered at Antioch, without making any new attempt that year.

The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death,* was from a conspiracy having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians as well as himself, imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by wasting the time in consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprized of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who till then had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot be safely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who had formerly been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to Injustice, and the other to Impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He despatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though

* Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771—773.

he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes was in administration under him, all things went well; but when the king conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him,) the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 195. When the ten commissioners,* who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told their senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: that the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and ill-affected to Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and that thus having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's steps. He had just before left Antioch, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans: but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, to inform themselves more particularly as to the fact; with orders, in case the proof should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general had too much penetration and foresight,† and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast,

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

† Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peri[illegible]; nec minùs in secundis adversa, quàm in adversis secunda cogitantem. *Justin.*

and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and see what the enemy were doing.

With regard to Greece,* all the states except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent I noticed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation, of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, "You perceive," says he, "that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities: or whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans no otherwise, than as the slavery of a single city hinders their glory in having delivered all Greece from being full and complete. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct."

No doubt could be entertained as to the sentiments of the assembly: the Ætolians alone could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with a breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted their having restored liberty to the whole of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who, in their turn, desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who were Greeks only in name, but real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis, tyrant

* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—43.

of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour: which was faithfully performed. Aristænus, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleonæ, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse.

Philip, on his part, sent 1500 men, and the Thessalians 400 horse. Quintius's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviseable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for 1000 chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he had joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had 3000 other foreign troops in his service; and, besides these, 10,000 natives of the country, exclusively of the Helots.

At the same time he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestic commotions. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and having posted his guards armed round them; after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed (whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things went quiet at home,) he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a secure prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder, but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city; when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very violent on both sides; but, at last, the foreigners were broken and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the

country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round that city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence laid waste the valleys, at the foot of Mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage. However, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had concluded with him in the war against Philip: an alliance on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their never having violated: that no change had taken place on his part since the treaty: that he was then what he had always been: and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly, in his answer, he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: but was he less covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny; for that otherwise, nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored: that the Romans could not make any kind of treaty with Nabis, without acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans were capable of sustaining a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war: a motive which com

monly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he pretended to accede to their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us besiege Sparta," says he, "since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges are often protracted to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so; this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege; but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds, that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities; in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary. We are obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously: and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprise." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties which he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, when private persons would find themselves obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expense of the war. Changing therefore immediately their opinion, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interests of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: that, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops: that he should restore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each: that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: that he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, without, however, forcing them to do so: that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: that he should pay down 100 talents of silver,* and afterwards fifty talents annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to

* A hundred thousand crowns.

send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which it reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification than the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it; and those alone in places which lay open, and were easy of access; all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (consisting of above 50,000 men, because he had sent for all the land as well as naval forces,) he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it at the same time on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, what orders to give, or to which quarter to send succours, and was quite distracted.

The Lacedæmonians sustained for some time the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, as they pressed on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the *testudo*, or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: when the Romans advanced into the broader streets, the Lacedæmonians being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled and withdrew to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames: the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move to a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be

sounded; and, after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many entreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated accounts they had one after another, imagined that Lacedæmon was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother (who returned to their respective fleets,) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of them, and distributed the prizes; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely on their account, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again united to their league, and restored to all its privileges: but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, gave an alloy to their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From the time of that shameful and inglorious treaty (for so they called it,) they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece: that here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst the lawful king (meaning Agesipolis,) who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment: in a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things, should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatia, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 194. In the beginning of the spring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprises of the Roman generals his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprise, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weakened and incapable of doing harm, as he now was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to carry with him the whole army thither; that before ten days were elapsed, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were withdrawn, and that he would before their eyes surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth: that this would show, whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief: whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master, instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it was well known the

Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to private persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it; that the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony: that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them. That discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chooses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as the advice of a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all that were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and imprint the remembrance of them deeply on their hearts.

After this, Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would inquire strictly after such Roman citizens as might still remain in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost the Achæans alone 100 talents, that is, 100,000 crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about 12*l.* 10*s.* a head;* consequently the number here amounted to 1200. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from Chalcis, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it

* Five hundred denarii.

soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored Heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found every thing in need of reformation, so general was the disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidst the other pomp) the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was the Roman citizens, delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads shaved as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECT. V.

Universal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopœmen gains a victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at last to Greece.

A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Antiochus and the Romans were preparing for war.* Ambassadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia Minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affairs of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who had been in Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprised, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and that the ambassadors might see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoken and transacted in the conference, and entreated each of them in particular, to inform

* Liv. l. xxxiv n. 57—62.

their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate, not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the tranquillity of the whole world would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king, Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lysimachia.

Scarce were they gone, when ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to make war against the Romans. I have observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and had arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time (and he always persisted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but 100 galleys, 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse. He declared, that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he hoped to be able to persuade the Carthaginians to join him; but that, should he not succeed, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans: that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king highly approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to sound the citizens; for he did not dare to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

A. M. 3812. Ant. J. C. 192. No people,* at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them since their last victory, though it was chiefly owing to them. His remonstrances had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus.

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 12.

charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with galleys, soldiers, and sailors: that, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus; that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, on account of the capture of a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and the conquest of the whole world by their arms; that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger: that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip,) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have both Antiochus and the Ætolians as allies? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians; that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him: and the strong towns and seaports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and secretly despatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a

peace which he had so earnestly solicited. At the same time they sent troops to the relief of Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly,* but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it adviseable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœle-syria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should himself receive half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that, should the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would,) he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that, on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave. For they might be assured that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they should have much better terms from the Romans: and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the East.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88—93. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

he desired nothing so much as that war should be declared against Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks: that, after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who had received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed, by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits; which was, by such conduct, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer I have related elsewhere,* when speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus, his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these specious appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his show of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, as had secured to him the love and esteem of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which, they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had great influence with the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how and in what manner they should carry it on; assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans; that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail at the first signal of war to take up arms also: that they had no time to lose: and that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans, "It is this oath," says he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during thirty-six years; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If your defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends; but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore to him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently

from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year.* He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command of the Achæan fleet,† flattering himself that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land: but he learned, to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen trusted to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of fit posts, in taking all advantages, and profiting by all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell headlong into them; and whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about, and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it was intersected, the general

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

† The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea-officer who was present, replied, "Sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders."—"My orders!" interrupted the prince, "I should not presume even to give my advice; but should stand quietly on the deck, and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction."

would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades on all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted, and asked himself (in case he were alone,) or else inquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post would it be proper for him to take? In what places to dispose of his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What route he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march? He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much, in all these parts of military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately as if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain: but the only method to be such, is to love one's profession, to think it an honour to succeed in it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis,* the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him, but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip, king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and only awaited his arrival to declare against them. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all

* Liv. l. xxxv. p. 31—34.

these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition; that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This flattering description of the state of the Grecian affairs made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as a hostage: and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of severely reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directed himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors, with tears conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought alone to be answerable for it: that the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men: that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech, and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by exaggerating the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that

side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the blame still more on the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assembly some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by announcing that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then every people would have preserved their rights, and all would not have been subjected to the Roman power. "But still," says he, "if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their ancient splendour, how desperate soever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves (without saying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance as that in question: that bold resolutions, adopted with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: that the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their influence, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither not so much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the least impression on minds so prejudiced, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their wills, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans; he made a transient mention of the many points in which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make

their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints; than out of mere wantonness to kindle a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in the presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus (then in office) was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber; so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

The Ætolians,* in a private council, formed in one day three very astonishing resolutions; to seize by a treacherous stratagem, Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these three expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by the faction of Eurylochus, who was an exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he had imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile; for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and secured it against all attacks. Thus Thoas, failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march 1000 foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plain on the side of the Eurotas. One day Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 34—38.

drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse.' Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, without losing time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures, and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, make a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

Philopœmen,* general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, than he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states; his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to 120 talents;† and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such: for not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present.—Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the gravity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him; so that giving some other pretence to his

* Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365. † A hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured (but with great reluctance) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expense to themselves; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; in order that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more adviseable," added he, "to stop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those grovelling wretches whose whole study is to heap up riches.

Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus,* and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially of the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he engaged him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the East, brought only 10,000 foot and 500 horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men, and horses, and all the sea-coasts covered with galleys: that

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 43—45.

he would spare neither expense, pains, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire for the Ætolians the first rank in it: that, with his numerous armies, there would arrive from Asia convoys of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech, he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of an effectual and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had chosen him only as an arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT. VI.

Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send Manius Acilius the consul into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans.

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. The first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was,* with what enterprise they should begin. It was thought adviseable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words as the Romans had done: that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both those powers, because that the one would always defend them against the other, and that by these means they would hold both in respect: that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves, as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance, whereas the king was present and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 48—51. Appian. in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

being oppressed by them: that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans; that they did not refuse the amity, either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island: that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

When this answer was reported to the king, as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They now addressed themselves to another quarter, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. He was a vain man (as those generally are who live in the courts and at the expense of princes;)* and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an imposing and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that an innumerable body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according, to him, was able by itself to overwhelm the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Cadusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed that it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing was to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphylia; nations who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world; that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him, every one knowing that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold; that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that consequently the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or a Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe; that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the East, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria terrasque inani sonitu verborum compleverat. *Liv.*

require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies: that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against that people, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect: adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain mere spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgotten that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur, or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to conciliate their esteem, but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and by their means, with the king himself: that if the world had not known till now, what it was that had formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough, that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed: that by vaunting of troops which they did not possess, they seduced and puffed up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side (as you have just now heard) that they had defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleet. "This," says he, "puts me in mind of an engagement given me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who treats his guests in the best manner. Surprised at the prodigious quantity and variety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it was possible for him, in the month of June, to get together so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vainglorious like these people, only fell a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we took for game was nothing but swine's flesh, seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different sauces. The same thing may be said of the king's troops which have been so highly extolled,

and whose number has been vainly multiplied in mighty names. For these Dahæ, Medes, Cadusians, and Elymæans, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than of soldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the movements and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provisions and money; and the next goes in person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians, and they, with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This ought to teach you not to suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the good faith of the Romans, which you have so often experienced. I am surprised they can venture to tell you, that it will be safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain only spectators of the war. That would, indeed, be a sure method; I mean, to become the prey of the victor."

The Achæans were neither long nor divided in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the request of Quintius, they sent 500 men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered, that they would deliberate upon what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time, Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition?

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince.* The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered

* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

his troops to assemble at Brundusium on the 15th of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the paramount necessity of using the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest; which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, "as Philip alone sustained so long the whole weight of the Roman power, what may not be expected from a war in which the two greatest kings of Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially as the Romans will have those against them in it, who gave them the superiority before; I mean the Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom alone, as is well known, they were indebted for victory. Now, who can doubt, but Philip may easily be brought over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas has so often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, waits only an opportunity to declare himself? And could he ever hope one more favourable than that which now offers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus, at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there: that since another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly might fail him on a sudden: that the instant those forces should arrive, it would be proper to march towards those coasts of Greece, which are opposite to Italy, and order his fleet to set sail thither also; that he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy; and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy; and actually keep himself in readiness to do so, in

case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coasts; and, at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. "These," concluded Hannibal, "are my thoughts, and if I am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I ought at least to have learned, by my good and ill successes how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon. As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatsoever they may be."

The council could not but approve at that time of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; and immediately sent orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him that he could not fail of being victorious: that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it: that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels frustrated, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, made himself master of several cities of Thessaly; he was however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebius, the Roman prætor, having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the daughter of the person at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two great enterprises he had formed, the war against the Romans and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned a universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence. Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field; he then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the splendid promises of Thoas; and the truth of

Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and to send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops which he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded 10,000 men.

Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans,* who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications of that place with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs, than Antiochus; who, being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and revelling, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had despatched Cato, who acted under him as lieutenant, with a large detachment in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes and Brennus afterwards opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of 600 Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to flight, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, and wait the coming up of the Romans. The rout now became general in a place where there were scarcely any outlets to escape through; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had

Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16—21. Plut. in Catone. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98.

commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, 500 excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general to do justice in this manner to the merit of another, and not to suffer so mean a passion as jealousy to harbour in his heart. The arrival of Cato at Rome filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had been very apprehensive of the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often observed, with admiration, how careful the heathens were to begin and end all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods, and afterwards returning them public and solemn thanks for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony which they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of equal antiquity with the world) has been preserved by all nations; that there is a Supreme Being and a Providence, which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us, and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of our superiors as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The consul,* after his victory, discovered such a moderation on all occasions, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.

Though the Ætolians,† by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius, however, endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus; that it was not yet too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that, to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they

* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 29—36. † Multo modestiâ post victoriam, quàm ipsâ victoriâ, laudabilior. *Liv.*

must surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. Those remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other engines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beaten down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the least intermission, either day or night.

It was plain, as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and continued exertions. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting that this proceeded from the excessive fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight, as usual, at three in the morning assaulted the city in three places only; placing at the fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who were awake ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made on that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who, in the beginning of the war, had answered Quintius, "That he would bring to him in Italy the decree by which he had just before called in Antiochus."

At the same time Philip was besieging Lamia,* which was but

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before the surrender of Heraclea, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour, gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who stayed very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

The Ætolians,* who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have been much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in various concerns, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole nation in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved with compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion of them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Phæneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture; "Your calamity," says he, "banishes from my mind all thoughts of resentment and revenge. You now find that all things have happened as I foretold you they would; and you have not the consolation of being able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to yourselves. But destined as I am, by Providence, to preserve Greece,

* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27. 35.

your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your submissions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advocate with the consul." They followed Quintius's advice in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction, and the Romans gave up to them Demetrias, the son of Philip, who had been a hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

SECT. VII.

Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus's fleet, is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new consul, is appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus. Scipio Africanus, his brother, serves under him. The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight. The consul marches against Antiochus, and crosses into Asia. He gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The king obtains a peace; and gives up, by a treaty, all Asia on this side mount Taurus. Dispute between Eumenes and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia.

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Whilst the affairs I have just related were passing in Greece,* Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus, relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who (they declared) did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies, who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the troops from the East which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachia, Sestos, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which

* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was beaten, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canæ, in Ætolia, drew their ships ashore, and fortified with a strong intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

Antiochus,* at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round, and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

During these transactions,† the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to an audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his influence in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered not as common enemies, but as a people so very uncivilized and unsocial that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days' debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option; these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate, or to pay 1000 talents,‡ and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, who were such to the Romans. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made to them. They therefore withdrew without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. § The next year the Romans gave the command of the land armies, which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, whether of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greater service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Regillus.

The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100. † Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.
‡ About 190,000*l.* § Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90 & 100.

in besieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months' truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it adviseable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it with all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly loyal munificence. In the entertainments which he made for the consul,* his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air; and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic; and what was still more, Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is usual, and in some measure pardonable, on these occasions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, which, however, at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was much heightened by his engaging demeanour, and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. "Multa in eo dexteritas et humanitas visa." These personal qualities, in the opinion of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusion could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him in the name of the Roman people, who had invested them with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience how much the Roman forces were superior to his own, and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a

* Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; viram, sicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuriâ esset, non aversum.—*Liv.*

people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans, on account of the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on and submit to others.

In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace,* to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem, defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, which had been sent to the assistance of the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk nine-and-twenty of his ships; and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only how to revenge it. Accordingly, with incredible diligence, they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably, Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes, the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with 1000 foot, and 100 horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal,† who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians singly fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiste, near Patara; and there blocked him up so close, that it was impossible for him to act, or be of any service to the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont, and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

He sent ambassadors to Prusias,‡ king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display, in the strongest terms, the fatal conse-

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11, & n. 18—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103. † Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. viii. ‡ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxii.

quences of that enterprise: that they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingly governments in the world, and leave no other empire than that of the Romans: that after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they were now preparing to attack him: that should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the conflagration spreading, would soon reach Bithynia: that as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias; but the letters which he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said, that in Spain, several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings: that Masanissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been added to it, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe: that Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones: that in the preceding year the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay, was remitted, and his son, who was a hostage in Rome, sent back to him; that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally be expected to be victorious: and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans than on that of Antiochus.

The king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed by the loss of the two battles related above; that then he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner he pleased: and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus therefore resolved to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, put it in the best condition he was able, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his reso

lution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonnesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked their fleet with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat,* that he seemed entirely disconcerted; and as if he had been on a sudden deprived of his senses, he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for withdrawing his forces out of Lysimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lysimachia being strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, perhaps till the winter was very far advanced, which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions (of both which he had laid up very considerable quantities) behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army; and, at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here an evident instance of what is so often mentioned in the Scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. "For,† behold, the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and staff.— The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet and the prudent, and the ancient. The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator."—But a very remarkable circumstance is, that the Pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "God took away the king's judgment,‡ and overthrew

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31 Appian. in Syr. p. 104. † Isaiah iii. 1—3.

‡ Θεοῦ βλαστοντος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμοὺς· ὅπερ ἅπασι, περισόντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἐπεγίγνεται— —οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ Θεοβλαβείας.

his reason; a punishment," says he, "that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity." The expression is very strong; "God overthrew the king's reason." He took from him, that is, he refused him, sound sense, prudence, and judgment: he banished from his mind every salutary thought: he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel,* Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness." The word in the Latin version is very strong, *infatua*: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai, the Archite, is better than the counsel of Ahitophel: for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom."

The Romans,† being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle whence they sprung, and as their primitive country, from whence Æneas had set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the West and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate the temples and statues of the deities which they had in common with that city.

When advice was brought to Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont,‡ he began to think himself undone. He would now have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an embassy to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of their army, it having halted for several days that were festivals at Rome, in which the sacred shields, called *Ancilia*, were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for being

* *Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel.—Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel*, UT INDUCERET DOMINUS SUPER ABSALOM MALUM, 2 *Reg.* xv. 31, et xvii. 14. O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness. 2 Sam. xiv. 31. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. *Chap.* xvii. 14.

† Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

‡ Liv. xxxvii. n. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiii. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Dion. in Syr. p. 105—110.

one of the Salii, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and did not direct their worship to more proper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he had imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, of his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides, of Byzantium, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope for success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed; that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria in the Troad, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies which they should demand of him: that he would consent to pay to the Romans half the expenses of this war. He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human affairs, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity: that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire: that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expenses of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole: they were not satisfied with his withdrawing the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to restore liberty to all Asia, in the same manner as they had done to Greece, which could not be effected unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to conciliate in private Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would restore him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money, and

assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in the king's power if he could mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer; "I am not surprised to find you ignorant both of my character and that of the Romans, as you are unacquainted even with the conditions of the prince who sent you hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of arms should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms, your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lysimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus; or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont to have disputed our passage into Asia. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck; so that all he now has to do, is to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with that which relates to the giving me back my son; I hope the rest will never have the power to tempt me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so precious a gift as he offers me in my son; but as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. Go, therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms, and not reject any articles of peace which may be proposed to him. This is the best advice I can give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to the sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, "Go," says he to the envoys, "and thank the king from me, and tell him that at present the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude is, to advise him not to fight till he hears of my being arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might be a powerful motive to induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the Phrygian river (it is thought to be the Hermus,) and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his

camp. His army consisted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and fifty-four elephants. That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but 30,000 men, and sixteen elephants. The consul, finding that the king kept quiet, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have considerably diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers, and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of 5400 men each, and two such bodies of Latine infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latines in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the centre was composed of pikemen,* or *Hastati*, the second of *Principes*, and the third of *Triarii;* these, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, 3000 Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, 3000 horse, 800 of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the river and its banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left 2000 Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the Triarii, by way of reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants, which were the only ones the Romans had, were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops, of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

The king's army was more varied, both as to the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep, and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. This formed the principal strength of the army. The sight alone of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of plunder, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the guides. To the right of this phalanx, was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, 1500 Asiatic Gauls, 3000 cuirassiers completely armed, and 1000 horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called from their arms being of silver. After them 1200 Dahæ, to whom 2500 Mysians were joined. All these were bowmen. Then 3000 light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by 4000 slingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that before part of the cavalry, the chariots, armed with scythes, were posted, with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords (in order that the riders might reach the enemy from the back of these beasts) were six feet long. The king commanded the right. Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp, occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bow-strings, the slings, and thongs* which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they used scarce any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins: and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots, armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and cavalry, who discharged javelins, commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, a shower of darts, stones, and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the

* Amenta.

while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the fields on all sides, and turn against their own troops as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army; for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broken and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was impossible for them to stand the shock, so that they were broken immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm through the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it with advantage; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their acting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars in Africa against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as it was supposed to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to kill the foremost of those that fled, and all who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of 2000 brave, well disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that

left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with 200 horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

It has been observed,* that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well disciplined soldiers. To enable this phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, he rendered half of them of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops, without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. In this, however, Antiochus had only observed the method in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse: 1400 were taken prisoners, and fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but 300 foot and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troopers were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus, with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch,† he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have always," said they to him, "pardoned with greatness of mind the kings and nations you have conquered. How much more should you be induced to do this, after a victory which gives you the empire of the universe? Henceforward, being become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of the human race your sole study for the future."

* Appian. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiv Appian. in Syr. p. 10—113.

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side, they were never too elated by prosperity; that therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle: that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: that he should pay all the expenses of the war, which were computed at 15,000 Euboic talents,* and the payments were settled as follows; 500 talents down, 2500 when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, 1000 talents in each year: that he should pay Eumenes the 400 talents he owed him, and the residue of a payment on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans.—He added, "The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge is sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore demand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent in fomenting this war." All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the 500 talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included among the hostages.—He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be the victims, they provided for their own safety by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true (and they impudently declared that it was so,) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended with them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul

* Fifteen thousand Attic talents amount to about 2,215,000*l.* sterling. Those of Euboea, according to Budæus, were something less.

soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. The Romans* had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known how precious and dear liberty in general is to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors; and as a peculiar privilege that distinguishes them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will show that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprises and wars; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander his son, gave the first blow to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after the victory they had gained over Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that favour for the Greeks of Asia; and it was the peculiar interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This was the subject on which the senate were now to debate, the decision of which held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus (the capital of his kingdom) by Antiochus, and in securing his dominions against the unjust enterprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had lately gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as of all Asia situated on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals than by himself. The modesty of his

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Ibid. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxv. Appian Syr. p. 116.

behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them; assuring him that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompense was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands: but that, as it was from the senate that he expected whatsoever he could hope for, he thought it most adviseable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was again introduced, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech: "I should have still continued silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon admit to audience, will make such demands as are directly contrary to my interest. They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and pretend that they ought to be declared free. Now, can it be doubted that their intention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those cities which will be set free, but even of such as were anciently tributaries to me; and that their view is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title of confederate cities? They will not fail to expatiate strongly on their own disinterestedness; and to say, that they do not speak for themselves, but merely for your glory and reputation. You therefore will certainly not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such discourse; and are far from designing, either to discover an affected inequality towards your allies, by humbling some and raising others in an immoderate degree; nor to allow better conditions to those who bore arms against you, than to such as have always been your friends and allies. With regard to my particular pretensions and my personal interest, these I can easily give up; but as to your kindness, and the marks of friendship with which you have been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me in that particular. This is the most precious part of the inheritance I received from my father, who was the first potentate in all Greece and Asia that had the advantage of concluding an alliance, and of joining in friendship with you; and who cultivated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity to his latest breath. He was far from confining himself in those points to mere protestations of kindness and good will. In all the wars you made in Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly followed your standards, and

war against Philip, by restoring all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put you in such a condition, as not to fear either of those inconveniences. The immortal gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, the Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are all in your hands. One of these provinces is alone capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him to the most powerful kings. You therefore may, at one and the same time, recompense very largely your allies, and not depart from the maxims which form the glory of your empire. The same motive prompted you to march against Philip and Antiochus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is expected; not only because you yourselves have already set the example, but because your honour requires it. Others engage in war, merely to dispossess their neighbours of some country, some city, fortress, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never draw the sword from such motives: when you fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance which inspires all nations with a reverence and awe for your name and empire, almost equal to that which is paid the gods. Your business is to preserve that glory. You have undertaken to rescue from the bondage of kings, and to restore to its ancient liberty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still more renowned for its glorious actions, and its exquisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is the whole nation whom you have taken under your protection, and you have promised it them to the end of time. The cities, situated in Greece itself, are not more Grecian than the colonies they settled in Asia. A change of country has not wrought any alteration in our origin or manners. We, as Grecian cities in Asia, have endeavoured to rival our ancestors and founders in virtue and in knowledge. Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities of Greece and those of Asia: the only difference is, that we are situated at a farther distance from Rome. If a difference in climate could change the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long since degenerated; and yet we are informed that you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived in the centre of Greece. And, indeed, they have retained not only the sound of the language, the dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks; but have also preserved still more their manners, laws, and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted by their intercourse with the neighbouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire. Every country on this side of it ought not to appear remote from you. Wherever you have carried your arms, convey thither also the genius and form of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of kings, since it is grateful to them.

The Greeks, in the mediocrity of their present condition, think it glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength was sufficient to secure empire to them; but now they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for ever by those people with whom they have placed it. All they desire is, that you will be pleased to protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties, as they are now no longer able to defend them by their own. But, says somebody, some of those cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines Pyrrhus? To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy, as well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider, Fathers, the engagements which this example lays you under. Will you concede to Eumenes's ambition (I beg his pardon for the expression) what you refused to your own just indignation? As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars which you have carried on in our countries, we have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful allies; and you are to judge whether we have really been such. Now that we enjoy peace, we are so free as to give you advice which must necessarily tend to your glory. If you follow it, it will demonstrate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude for the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought that the sole view of their undertaking this war was to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to reconcile these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly, some days after, it was also ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made to them was, that the senate would despatch, pur-

suant to their usual custom, ten commissioners, to inquire into and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. To the Rhodians were allotted Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted, that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this prudent regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soli, a city of Silicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soli, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their reluctance. The Rhodians returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome,* and the fatal changes which took place there. Asia,† vanquished by the Roman arms, in its turn vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity in which its strength and honour had consisted. Luxury,‡ which in a manner entered

* Plin. l. xiii. c. 3. † Armis, vicit, vitiis victus est. *Senec. de Ben.*

‡ Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles———

Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the cities than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflections on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia.

The reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is only by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that it is carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, show such a moderation and disinterestedness, as (judging of them only from their outside) exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures; caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit from their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of what passed on that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans never belied such exalted sentiments; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But, if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy: wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but at the same time very remote from that noble disinterestedness, which has been so highly

> Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidini, ex quo
> Paupertas Romana perit——
> Sævior armis
> Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.
>
> *Juven. lib. iii. Sat. vi.*

extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of wars, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, springing from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy; Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the time of the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles to her ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearer to Italy than the rest.

To balance, therefore, the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aid which he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and, farther to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait (as a reward for their fidelity,) I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the West; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost mode-

ration towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all commotions which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompense from their allies for all these services. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, under pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty, and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels: but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. Afterwards, they used, with plenary authority, to summon those who refused to come to an agreement; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators, being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance; thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them, and from whom they had something to hope; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs: and whether matters ought not to be on the same footing, on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. The first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and conse

quently the least formidable; they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and which was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves: they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this which raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

In the seqnel, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates who divided Europe and Asia. And how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of the mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We cannot doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the Scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification of their conduct. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a foreknowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct had determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, in what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans terminated. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world; they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations: in a word; they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, than those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

END OF VOL. VI.

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